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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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PREFACE.

THE FORTY-SEVENTH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION contains a considerable number of papers read at the recent Congress held at Oxford in 1890, and during the recent Sessions in London. It is illustrated with a variety of plans and drawings connected with the descriptions which they accompany; and the kind liberality of some of the friends of the Association has enabled the volume to be more freely illustrated than it could otherwise have been.

No very marked discovery or theory has been discussed during the past year in the papers of the JOURNAL, but our members have contributed several papers which cannot fail to be inspected with careful attention by the antiquarian world. Oxford, indeed, could scarcely be visited by any one without leaving an impression of its greatness as an antiquarian site on the mind. But it was visited by the Congress members under the best possible opportunities of bearing witness to its important

claim to one of the highest positions in the mind of an English antiquary, and the papers read upon its history form valuable contributions to the history of Europe. York, in similar wise, formed the site of our Congress this year, and the elucidation of many of its prominent archæological features will be continued in the volume for 1892, which is in the course of publication.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

31 *December* 1891.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA (but see next page). The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1 : 1 each to Associates; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6; to the Associates, £1 : 1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1890-91 are as follow:—1890, Nov. 19, Dec. 3. 1891, January 7, 21; Feb. 4, 18; March 4, 18; April 1, 15; May 6 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 20; June 3.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,¹—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.

¹ Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen¹ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and an Honorary Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen² other Associates, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday in May³ in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.
2. Members of Council not attending three meetings of Council at least, reckoned from the previous Annual Meeting, are ineligible for the following year. (See vol. xlv, p. 153.)

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

¹ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

² Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

³ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,² for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

² At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

| Congresses have been already held at | Under the Presidency of |
|--|---|
| 1844 CANTERBURY . . . } | THE LORD A. D. CONYNNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A. |
| 1845 WINCHESTER . . . } | |
| 1846 GLOUCESTER . . . } | |
| 1847 WARWICK . . . } | |
| 1848 WORCESTER . . . } | |
| 1849 CHESTER . . . } | J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A. SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L. THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A. |
| 1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER | |
| 1851 DERBY . . . } | |
| 1852 NEWARK . . . } | |
| 1853 ROCHESTER . . . } | |
| 1854 CHEPSTOW . . . } | THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT |
| 1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . . } | |
| 1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH } | |
| 1857 NORWICH . . . } | |
| 1858 SALISBURY . . . } | |
| 1859 NEWBURY . . . } | THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A. THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A. BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt. |
| 1860 SHREWSBURY . . . } | |
| 1861 EXETER . . . } | |
| 1862 LEICESTER . . . } | |
| 1863 LEEDS . . . } | |
| 1864 IPSWICH . . . } | JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A. GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A. THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND THE EARL OF CHICHESTER |
| 1865 DURHAM . . . } | |
| 1866 HASTINGS . . . } | |
| 1867 LUDLOW . . . } | |
| 1868 CIRENCESTER . . . } | |
| 1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . . } | SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bt. THE EARL BATHURST THE LORD LYTTON CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P. SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L. |
| 1870 HEREFORD . . . } | |
| 1871 WEYMOUTH . . . } | |
| 1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . . } | |
| 1873 SHEFFIELD . . . } | |
| 1874 BRISTOL . . . } | THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M. KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P. THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE |
| 1875 EVESHAM . . . } | |
| 1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE | |
| 1877 LLANGOLLEN . . . } | |
| 1878 WISBECH . . . } | |
| 1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH | SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P. THE EARL OF HARDWICKE THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S. THE EARL NELSON LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER |
| 1880 DEVIZES . . . } | |
| 1881 GREAT MALVERN . . . } | |
| 1882 PLYMOUTH . . . } | |
| 1883 DOVER . . . } | |
| 1884 TENBY . . . } | THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G. THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A. |
| 1885 BRIGHTON . . . } | |
| 1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . . } | |
| 1887 LIVERPOOL . . . } | |
| 1888 GLASGOW . . . } | |
| 1889 LINCOLN . . . } | THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T. THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM DITTO |
| 1890 OXFORD . . . } | |

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AND NOTTINGHAM.

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THE ANCIENT BUILDINGS AND STATUTES OF MERTON COLLEGE.

BY THE HON. GEORGE C. BRODRICK, D.C.L., WARDEN
OF MERTON COLLEGE.

[FOR the greater part of the following paper I have been indebted to my own *Memorials of Merton College*, published by the Oxford Historical Society. I have, however, revised the statements thence derived by the light of later researches.—G. C. B.]

Merton, the earliest of English colleges, and the model of all the rest, dates its pedigree from the year 1264. This year may be taken as a central landmark in that great era of transition known as the middle ages. The spirit of feudalism and chivalry still tyrannised over commercial enterprise and intellectual aspirations. France was still ruled by St. Louis, who had not yet undertaken the last of the Crusades. The Christian monarchies of Spain were still engaged in a chronic struggle with the Mahomedan kingdom of Granada; Germany was still in the state of anarchy which preceded the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg; the Italian republics were rapidly falling under the yoke of local tyrants; and the French occupation of Sicily, which ended in the Sicilian Vespers, was not commenced until the year 1265. The south of Russia, Poland, and Hungary, had just been devastated by the Mongol invasion. England itself was in the midst

of an intermittent civil war. The Provisions of Oxford, whereby the Crown was virtually put into commission, were signed in 1258; the battles of Lewes and Evesham were fought in 1265; in that year, too, was summoned the first regular Parliament, composed of representatives from counties and boroughs, which ever assembled in this country; and the House of Commons sprang into existence a twelvemonth after the foundation of Merton College.

Nor was this epoch less critical in the history of our Universities. Twenty years before, the University of Oxford had received its first charter from Henry III; the Mendicant Orders, founded in the early part of the thirteenth century, had lost no time in establishing themselves both there and at Cambridge; the Dominicans, or Black Friars, had been located, so far back as 1221 or 1222, in the heart of the Jewry, as it was then called, near the present Corn Exchange, but had moved in 1259 to a new site, at the end of the present Speedwell Street, where the church of their great Convent was consecrated in 1262; the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, had followed them two or three years later, and were settled just outside the Castle walls, on a site now occupied by Paradise Square; the Carmelites had but lately taken possession of grounds now covered by part of Worcester College and Gardens; the Augustin Friars had already obtained a small house near the Schools, which they afterwards abandoned for the handsome Convent erected between Wadham College and Holywell Street. The Friars of these Orders, soon to be followed by the Cistercians, the "Crutched Friars", the Trinitarians, and the "Canons Regular", must be regarded as the pioneers of learning in mediæval Oxford.

But their success was doubtful and short-lived. Roger Bacon, himself a Franciscan, and by far the foremost leader of Oxford thought in the thirteenth century, attests the incredibly low standard of scholarship, as well as the utter neglect of mathematics and science, in the University of which he was the greatest ornament. The standard of social life and manners was still lower. The great mass of students were still lodged in little Halls (of which three hundred are said to have existed

in the reign of Edward I),¹ or in the houses of townspeople. As for academical discipline, the numerous instances of outrageous violence and disturbance cited by Anthony Wood disclose a state of society in which learning could not but languish. Indeed, a desperate conflict between the students and the citizens was one main cause of the royal command under which a considerable body of the former migrated in 1263 to Northampton, whence they returned in 1264 under the safe conduct of Simon de Montfort.

It was in such an age, so unlike our own that we can barely picture it to our minds, and in such a place—not diversified by picturesque cloisters and quadrangles, or embowered in peaceful gardens, but encircled with a loop-holed wall, crowded with dingy hostelryes, intersected by a labyrinth of squalid lanes, and swarming with a mixed multitude of priests and vagrants—that Walter de Merton essayed the great experiment which resulted in the conversion of Oxford and Cambridge into collegiate Universities.

The original seat of Merton College was Malden in Surrey. Ten years later, however, in 1274, it was transferred by the Founder to Oxford; and in his final statutes, put forth in that year, he designates Oxford as the exclusive and permanent home of the scholars. These statutes, which may justly be described as the foundation of the college system, were authenticated by the seal of King Edward I as well as by that of the Founder himself. The policy of which they are the expression is not difficult to understand. Fully appreciating the great intellectual movement of his age, and unwilling to see the paramount control of it in the hands of the religious orders,—the zealous apostles of Papal supremacy,—Walter de Merton resolved to establish within the precincts of the University a great seminary of secular clergy, which should educate a succession of men capable of doing good service in Church and State. As Bishop Hobhouse well says: “He borrowed from the monastic institutions

¹ Sir J. Peshall, in his instructive but ill-arranged *History of the City of Oxford*, professes to identify the exact site of some three hundred extinct Halls.

the idea of an aggregate body living by common rule, under a common head, provided with all things needful for a corporate and perpetual life, fed by its secured endowments, and fenced from all external interference except that of its lawful patron."

But he was not content with a copy or even a mere adaptation of the monastic idea; on the contrary, it may be surmised that he was influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by the spirit of those non-monastic institutions, now almost forgotten, in which the parochial clergy of an earlier age had sometimes lived together under a common rule. The employment of his scholars was to be study; not the *claustralis religio* of the older religious orders, nor the more practical and popular self-devotion of the Dominicans and Franciscans. He forbade them ever to take vows, he enjoined them to maintain their corporate independence against all foreign encroachments, he ordained that all should apply themselves to studying the liberal Arts and Philosophy before entering upon a course of Theology, and he provided special chaplains to relieve them of ritual and ceremonial duties. He contemplated and even encouraged their going forth into the great world, only reminding those who might win an ample fortune (*uberior fortuna*) to show their gratitude by advancing the interests of the College. No ascetic obligations were laid upon them, but residence and continuous study were strictly prescribed; and if any scholars retired from the College with the intention of giving up learning, or even ceased to study diligently, their salaries were no longer to be paid. If the scale of these salaries and statutable allowances were moderate, it was chiefly because the Founder intended the number of his scholars to be constantly increased as the revenues of the house might be enlarged. He even recognised the duty of meeting the growing needs of future ages, and empowered his scholars not only to make new statutes, but even to migrate elsewhere from Oxford in case of necessity.¹

¹ The Statutes which provided for the education of orphan or indigent boys of the Founder's kin, within the College, were carried out during the first two centuries of Merton history. The "pueri", as they are often called in college records, were lodged first in Holywell, afterwards in Nun's Hall, and instructed by a grammar-master, to whom,

The effort of mind required to make such innovations, worked out as they are with remarkable foresight in details, can hardly be estimated in the present day. It was an essentially original design, and there can be no doubt that it constituted an entirely new departure in the academical history of the Middle Ages. Not only was it the archetype upon which all the collegiate foundations at Oxford were moulded, but the *Regula Mertonensis* was expressly adopted as a model for the oldest college at Cambridge. Hugh Balsham obtained a licence from Edward I to found Peterhouse on the same basis as Merton; and the Statutes of Peterhouse, drawn up by Simon Montacute, his successor in the see of Ely, purport to be little more than a revised edition of the Merton code.¹ Henceforth colleges gradually superseded halls and monasteries as the homes of University students and the strongholds of University discipline.

A special interest attached to the architectural history of Merton College, since its structure, like its constitution, represents the first beginnings of collegiate, as distinct from conventual life. It cannot be asserted with confidence that Walter de Merton's eye rested on any part of the present College buildings; and it is more than probable that his earliest scholars were lodged in the ancient tenements fronting Merton Street, purchased by himself. The old College Hall, however, of which the main walls have been preserved in subsequent restorations, is believed to have been erected in the Founder's lifetime;² and the sedilia in the windows, opened out by

for example, 25s. were paid, apparently as a half-year's salary, in 1331-32. In the Holywell Rolls of Edward I's reign we find items for eight trusses of straw bought "ad opus custodis et puerorum", and afterwards for a payment of 6d. "datum pueris de Nunhall ad stramen". Many of the earlier Fellows are identified as having been of the Founder's kin.

¹ "Quodque status Domus, ac Magister et Scholares hujusmodi ordinarentur quatenus esset commodè, secundum quod Magister et Scholares Aulæ Scholarium de Merton in Oxon. discretius ordinantur."

² About 1330 the louvre over the hall seems to have been repaired. Bishop Hobhouse observes that much stone was still brought from Teynton, and it is greatly to be regretted that any other stone was used in the College buildings. In the College accounts of 1367-8 there are several entries showing how largely Teynton stone was then used for repairs as well as (apparently) for building a wall "inter 'le Logge' et ostium ecclesiæ".

Sir Gilbert Scott, were doubtless part of the original structure. The ancient doorway at the top of the hall-staircase, with its elaborate ironwork, deserves special attention.

There are entries in the bursars' rolls showing that "a new kitchen" was built at the expense of the College within a very few years of the Founder's death; and others, of the year 1304, containing items for repairing the steps of the Hall opposite the kitchen. The beautiful choir of the Chapel was certainly erected before the end of the thirteenth century, and was long supposed to have been finished by the year 1277. In proof of this, great stress was laid on an entry of that date in the bursars' rolls, recording the payment of 14*s.* 9*d.* for the dedication of a high altar, and 8*d.* for the benediction of a super-altar. But Mr. James Parker has vigorously disputed the inference drawn from this entry, maintaining, on architectural grounds, that such geometrical tracery and mouldings as adorn the windows of the Merton choir (a splendid example of the Decorated style) have never been found elsewhere in an English church of so early a date as 1277. His theory is that 1277 marks the commencement, and not the completion, of the choir; and that the altar then dedicated, or rededicated, was not the high altar of the choir, but the altar of St. John's Church, the removal of which had become necessary by the absorption of the church into the College chapel. Against this theory must be set the fact that Exeter Cathedral, erected between 1279 and 1291, contains similar tracery, while no subsequent dedication is recorded until the year 1424. At all events, the Chapel, if not erected before the Founder's death, was erected immediately afterwards (perhaps under the direction of his executors), out of his residuary bequest to the College. It is positively stated by Anthony Wood that Henry de Mannesfeld, a Fellow of the College, furnished the side-windows of the choir with glass in the year 1283, and in several of them there are kneeling figures of Henry de Mannesfeld with a label bearing the inscription, "Mag. Henricus de Mannesfeld me fecit", or words to a like effect.¹ But it does not follow that the stonework even

¹ In a College account of 1361 there is an entry of expenditure for

of these windows was complete in that year, or that the east window is of exactly the same date, for the bursar's rolls of 1292 contain orders for stone to be used for windows of the chapel, as if they were still in process of execution.

The original design included transepts with a central tower, as well as a nave and aisles. We read of bells in the bursar's rolls of the year 1288; and the construction of a *campanarium* is recorded in 1304. The date of the noble arches supporting the tower still remains to be ascertained; but in the bursar's rolls for 1330-1 there is an account of a large outlay upon a belfry-tower, under the head of "*Custos novi operis circa campanile*";¹ followed by similar entries for building operations about the chapel in the later part of the fourteenth century. The transepts, or ante-chapel, were not dedicated until 1424, by which time the College had abandoned the idea of building the nave, and had blocked up the three western arches of the ante-chapel.² A new peal of five bells was provided soon afterwards, partly at the expense of Henry Abendon, then Warden; and Professor Rogers has carefully analysed the accounts for the erection or re-erection of the bell-tower. The work lasted two years, from May 1448 to May 1450, under the superintendence of Thomas Edwardes, probably one of the Fellows; and the funds, amounting to nearly £142, were supplied partly from the

mending the glass windows of the chancel. Another entry in the same account records payments "for making corbel-tables outside the entrance-door."

¹ In 1331-2, again, there are two entries,—one of 60s. "*pro opere ecclesiæ*", another of £5 6s. for quarrying and carrying stone for the church. In 1350-1 work was still going on "*super campanile*". Bishop Hobhouse remarks that the chaplains were often entrusted with considerable sums for these and other purposes beyond their own province.

² Bishop Hobhouse has extracted an interesting entry from the endorsement of a college account, which he assigns to the year 1422. This minute sets forth that it is expedient to commence the erection of the tower while there are many still living who have promised large contributions towards the work, that by frequent deaths of Fellows many things are lost which might easily be acquired for the building if it were once begun, and that it would be well to raise £20 annually for the purpose from the "Surrey Woods", which might thus constantly maintain the "work of the church".

College revenues, and partly from private donations or legacies.¹

In the meantime, other College buildings had arisen south of the Chapel and west of the Hall. An entry in the bursar's rolls proves the vestry or sacristy to have been commenced in 1310, and there are architectural reasons for concluding that it was not commenced until the choir was completed. This sacristy, long used as a brewhouse, has lately been restored, and presents several interesting features, including a "squint" commanding the steps of the altar. The adjoining muniment-room or Treasury, with its high-pitched roof of solid masonry, is certainly not of a later date, and is sometimes referred to an earlier period. This Treasury contains all the ancient documents of the College, with a catalogue (itself six hundred years old) of the deeds then in the possession of the College,—probably an unique example of archives preserved in the same fire-proof building for a period of six centuries. The original north and east sides of the primitive quadrangle called "Mob-Quadrangle" were probably erected at the same time; and the bursar's rolls of 1306, noting payments for "the new chambers", may, perhaps, mark the actual time of their completion. The southern and western sides of this quadrangle (the cradle of the College system) may have been erected in the next generation. The Library, which forms the upper part of these wings, has always been regarded as the work of William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, who died in 1385, leaving to the College a chest with £100 for its repair, as well as another chest with £100 for the aid of Fellows, by way of loan. Others have surmised that Bishop Rede only rebuilt an existing edifice, enriching it with a store of MSS., then considered the greatest treasure of monastic bodies; and references to an earlier library certainly occur in the College accounts. Our friend Mr. Bruton has arrived at the conclusion, founded

¹ Full particulars of the moneys received for, or charge incurred in, building the Bell-tower of Merton Chapel from May 20, 1448, to May 9, 1450, are preserved in Rogers' *History of Prices*, vol. i, pp. 258-60; vol. iii, pp. 720-37. Both Teynton and Headington stone was employed. Among the legacies for this purpose we find one of 13s. 4d. from Henry Caldey, Vicar of Cuckfield, who apparently had no connection with the College.

on architectural analogies, that the remarkable chamber which now contains the library was originally intended for a dormitory, and afterwards converted to its present use, the muniment-room being large enough to hold all the books which the College is likely to have possessed a century and a half before the invention of printing. On the other hand, dark as it must have been before the dormer-windows were thrown out in the sixteenth century, the building is singularly well adapted for a library divided into cells, as at present; and it is quite possible that when there were no private sitting-rooms, it was the one reading-room of the whole College. Nor is it difficult to imagine ardent students pacing up and down the central corridor, to keep themselves warm, in the intervals of meditation or transcription.

Some light is thrown on this question by entries in College accounts of Jan. 1354-5. It there appears that a carpenter was employed "*ad facienda palatia Librariæ et alia necessaria, et in quatuor mensis pro 'deskes' in Librariâ*". Now "*palatia*", as explained by Du Cange, may probably have meant latticed studies; and the work here indicated may have been the beginning of that partition into lateral chambers with desks, of which Merton College Library is said to offer the earliest example. In 1376-7 we find entries of stone brought from Teynton, which may probably have been for the completion of the Library, since the same accounts contain other references to the work as still going on; and in 1378-9 no less a sum than £65 : 6 : 5 was expended on the same object. It should be added that the Library contains an old quadrant, two imperfect astrolabes, and an instrument probably intended as a table for calculations,—all supposed to be of the fourteenth century.

The whole of the Mob-Quadrangle may safely be taken as having retained its present aspect for the last five hundred years. One room in it deserves special mention, since it contains a small painted window bearing the quaint distich, "*Oxonium quare*",¹ to which reference is

¹ These words form the opening of a mediæval couplet:—

"*Oxonium quare venisti, premeditare :
Nocte dieque cave tempus consumere pravè.*"

often made in the College Register. Mr. Hurst, who has carefully examined this room, points out that in a MS. of Anthony Wood this window is stated to have been put up in the reign of Henry V. Mr. Hurst also succeeded in preserving, and has enclosed in a case, a section of the old plaster from the wall, showing a coloured pattern. This curious relic I have placed for inspection in the sacristy.

We must pass lightly over the later College buildings, interesting as some of them are. The embattled tower over the gateway, restored in 1838, was built under special licence from the Crown in 1416. The oldest portion of the Warden's lodgings is said to have been erected about 1460 by Warden Sever, who had been the first Provost of Eton College. A large portion, including the dining-room, drawing-room, archway, and "Queen's room", was added by Warden Fitzjames in the reign of Henry VII. The larger or Fellows' quadrangle was built in the wardenship of Savile, between 1608 and 1610; and it is remarkable that the architect and builder employed on this work also constructed Wadham College and the great quadrangle of the Old Schools.

On Oct. 17, 1655, about nine o'clock at night, a great part of the roof over the south transept, adjoining the tower of the chapel, suddenly fell within the ante-chapel, breaking all the stones on the floor, some of which were monumental stones. It was on this occasion, according to Anthony Wood, that many of the ancient brasses were torn up and carried away by the workmen. Two of the finest, however, escaped destruction, and, having been removed, are now to be seen in front of the Communion-rails. In 1657, and again in 1681, the bells were melted down and recast, to the great sorrow of Anthony Wood, who declares that the largest bell of the old peal was reputed to be the finest in England. In the autumn of 1661 "the chamber above the kitchen" was converted into a common room, probably the earliest of all the rooms thus appropriated in Oxford. In 1705 a new "solarium", or terrace-walk, was made upon the town-wall, surrounding the garden on its south and east sides. Two ancient doorways formerly leading into the College garden, but now blocked up, recall a period when the pre-

sent site of the garden comprised several little plots not in the possession of the College. One of these doorways is in the nature of a postern in the southern wall of the city; the other was probably the northern outlet of the garden, when more than one small Hall occupied the space eastward of St. Alban Hall.

But it is now time for me to close this very imperfect notice of our Merton antiquities. Let me only remind you, in conclusion, that our oldest buildings—the choir of the Chapel, the Sacristy, and the Treasury—are nearly a century older than any other college buildings in Oxford (those of New College standing next in order), and carry us back to a period when Merton College stood alone in the University, an example of academical discipline and cloistered industry to a disorderly rabble of non-collegiate students; a haven of rest for studious and quiet spirits, in the midst of those incessant tumults which disgrace the history of the mediæval City and the mediæval University.

A VISITATION OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

HELD BY

WILLIAM ALNWICK, BISHOP OF LINCOLN,
A.D. 1437.

BY REV. A. R. MADDISON, M.A., SUCCECTOR AND PRIEST-VICAR
OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

(Read 30th July 1889.)

I SUPPOSE I do not exaggerate when I say that any document which serves to throw a little light on the history of our country in the fifteenth century is valuable. No student of English history can fail to recognise the fact that in this century the materials of history are scanty, incomplete, and unsatisfactory. I do not, of course, mean that the main outlines of our national history are indistinct. We know what kings flourished, what battles were fought, what were the principal events of each reign; but somehow we fail in trying to get beyond this. The twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries are far better known than the fifteenth. One reason is that the monastic chronicles are wanting in this century, which throw so much light on the preceding three. Another is that in the turmoil of the civil wars of the Roses, when the fortunes of the houses of York and Lancaster were alternately in the ascendant, a vast amount of documents must have been destroyed. Men were cautious what they wrote on paper, which might be brought up in evidence against them. Title-deeds and family-records were easily destroyed which might be inconvenient to one whose only title to his estate was the favour of the then paramount dynasty.

Taking all this into consideration, we cannot wonder that the fifteenth century is barren of materials for its history, and therefore I venture to think that a Visitation of Lincoln Cathedral in the year 1437 is not devoid of interest, seeing that it throws a flood of light on the condition of our Cathedral life at a time when it must be

confessed a general decay of religion and morals was prevalent both in Church and State. To trace the course of this unhappy condition we must look backward to the preceding century. .

A calamity had befallen the nation with dire results, which were far-reaching in their operation. The pestilence called "The Black Death", which ravaged our land in 1348, and swept off one half of the population, had an evil effect on the Church and nation. It is computed that one half of the priests in Yorkshire fell victims to the plague, while in the diocese of Norwich two-thirds of the parishes were left destitute of incumbents. In such awful visitations it is not the worthless, the cowardly, the selfish, who are swept away, for the most part, but the best, the bravest, the self-sacrificing. Those who stood to their posts, laid down their lives for their flocks; those who cared for their own lives survived. Hence we may well imagine what a terrible blow this was to the Church, when her ranks were decimated, the flower of her soldiery cut off, and their places had to be hastily filled with young and untried men.

A glance at the Episcopal Register of this diocese bears ample witness to my words. The number of vacant benefices is appalling during the years 1348-9-50. Acolytes and subdeacons have to be thrust into incumbencies under the pressure of necessity. I repeat that such a calamity would leave a deep impression on the character of the Church; the effects would be lasting; and the deterioration of the Church was accompanied by a similar deterioration of the people. The long-continued wars with France, under Edward III, drained the country of its best population, as the pestilence did the Church. The religious movement under Wycliff, which began as a passionate protest against the abuses and vices prevalent in the Church, was supplemented by socialistic insurrection. Misery breeds discontent; and the impoverished condition of England, the decay of her commercial prosperity, inseparable from protracted war, paved the way for murder and pillage throughout the land.

The fifteenth century opened with gloomy prospects for the Church. The invectives of Wycliff against her pride of place and wealth had turned envious eyes to her

endowments. It has been said that a suppression of the monasteries, or at least a spoliation of them, was within measurable distance when the brilliant campaign of Henry V in France averted, for a time, the threatened danger, which culminated a century later, and turned men's thoughts into another channel.

So much I have said by way of prelude, in order to give some clear idea of the state of things that prevailed when Bishop Alnwick held his primary Visitation of this Cathedral in 1437. The evils produced by the causes I have enumerated had had their influence on the *morale* of the Cathedral, and it had deteriorated accordingly. Laxity of discipline seems to have prevailed from the Dean downwards. Irregularities which may appear to us now but comparative trifles, were not without significance when taken in conjunction with other symptoms. Those whose duty it was to administer the law broke it, and by their dissensions among themselves weakened the authority they should have exercised over others.

We must not suppose that this, the primary Visitation of Alnwick, was the first attempt made to restore discipline and order. Bishop Gray, his predecessor, had tried his hand, and had issued a "*Laudum*", or judgment, on the 24th of August 1434, in which he attempted to settle the feud that had long been raging between the Dean and the Chapter. Alnwick succeeded Gray as Bishop in 1436, and in 1437, on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, and 8th days of October he held a Visitation in the Cathedral. The contending parties appear before him, and the Dean opens the ball. He was a man of ability, as is evidenced by his having held the office of Chancellor to Henry V. So early as 1404 he held the prebendal stall of Empingham in Rutland; a place with which he was territorially connected by his brother, Thomas Mackworth, of Mackworth in co. Derby, marrying the heiress of the manor of Empingham. In 1412 he was made Dean of Lincoln, and held the post till his death in 1451. His legal knowledge, no doubt, stood him in good stead during his quarrels with his Chapter and his determined opposition to Bishop Alnwick's *Novum Registrum*. His charges against his Chapter are these:—

1. The residentiary Canons were bound by the *Niger*

Liber, or *Book of Customs*, to provide, each one at his own expense, a chaplain or clerk. This rule was evaded by some altogether ; others made use of chantry-chaplains, who, of course, had their own duties to discharge.

2.. He complains that William Derby (Archdeacon of Bedford) is much given to talking with his brethren during the divine office in the choir.

3. He brings the same charge against John Southam, Archdeacon of Oxford, and Peter Partrich, Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral.

4. That the Prebendaries of Carlton-Kyme, and Welton, have not provided vicars in the choir to supply their places.

5. That the Canons officiating in the Cathedral draw off vicars, and chantry-chaplains, and the best singers, to assist them at the altar, to the detriment of divine service.

6. That there are not enough masons and carpenters employed to keep the fabric in repair.

7. That the Chapter, without consulting him or the Bishop, had given a dispensation to William Derby from keeping his greater residence while engaged in a Chancery suit at Westminster for two years ; he, nevertheless, retaining all the emoluments of his canonry, just as though he had kept his residence.

8. That the Canons carry off books belonging to the church, which should be put back in the library, but which remain under the care of the Chancellor.

He therefore begs the Bishop to determine, once for all, the residences of the Dean as well as of the Canons.

He further complains that the Canons let their farms on lease without the consent of the Dean and Chapter ; that the Chapter retain vacant chantries in their hands, and do not fill them up. Then he accuses William Derby of having taken money from the common fund of the Cathedral, and of having spent it in London on lawsuits, so that the officers of the church remain unpaid. He begs that Alan Humberston, clerk of the common chamber, be examined on this point.

He further begs that Canons who wish to indulge in pleas and suits in the law-courts should do so at their own expense, not at that of the Cathedral ; and that any

loans made to the King, or any one else, should not be made from the common goods of the church ; as the treasury of the Shrine of St. Hugh, and that of the common chamber, had greatly suffered from this.

He lastly complains of the confederation of his enemies against him, and names them thus : Peter Partrich ; John Southam (already mentioned) ; John Haket, the Treasurer of the Cathedral ; William Derby (already mentioned) ; Thomas Warde, Prebendary of Carlton-cum-Thurlby ; and Richard Ingoldsby, Prebendary of Welton-Beckhall ; all being Canons of the Cathedral.

The Precentor, Robert Burton, next comes on the scene with a lengthy tale of complaints. He was a man of ungovernable temper, as appears at another Visitation, when he was accused of having snatched the censer out of the thurifer's hands, during divine service, and called him an opprobrious name. Let us, greatly compressing him, endeavour to extract the pith of his grievance.

First he complains that the majority of the Chapter, banded together in confederacy, take the greater part of the rents and revenues for themselves, assigning little or nothing to the minority, in utter contempt of the *Book of Customs*, in which the ordinances of the Church are written, which they have sworn to observe. But his special animosity seems to be directed against the Sacrist, John Leeke, who, he complains, has arrogated to himself, in virtue of a Papal Bull, the power of hearing general confessions throughout the diocese of Lincoln, whereas the Bull only mentioned "episcopal cases". On this point he brings grave charges of immorality against the Sacrist ; not hesitating to accuse him of open and wilful perjury. Then he accuses him of holding two offices "incompatible" with each other, viz., the sacristship and the rectory of Broxholm, without a dispensation. Finally he winds up with a long statement of the money owing to him as arrears from the *communa* of the Cathedral and other sources. I will only specify one item in the catalogue. He had been Proctor for the Cathedral at the Council of Basle for four years, during which, as he contends, he was entitled to all profits and emoluments of his office as Precentor ; but these had been withholden from him, and he now prays the Bishop for restitution.

The next complainant is Peter Partrich, the Chancellor, and his accusations are mainly directed against the Dean; not without reason, if we may credit them. After asserting that the Dean and the Residentiary Canons have not obeyed the "*Laudum*" of the late Bishop Gray, he goes on to complain that the Dean has the tail of his cope ("*caudam capæ suæ*") borne up in the city, and outside the Cathedral Close, contrary to ancient custom; also that he talks, during processions, with the Canon who is the celebrant, walking close to him or behind him, contrary to the usual custom; not keeping the line, and walking after the last Canon.

These seem to us but trivial matters; but a more serious charge follows. He says that the Dean, without consulting the Chapter, has built a stable within the Deanery premises, on the north wall of the cloister, and that the roof of the cloister is damaged by the rain-water that falls on it from the eaves of the stable; and that the Dean has pulled down cut stones from the said wall to build his stable. Further, that the Dean has taken a key which guards the common seal of the Cathedral, whereas, according to the *Liber Niger*, the Chancellor should have it.

But he has to complain also of the Canons for wearing only surplices and amices on all occasions, and not black copes; and in the same breath he complains also of the young vicars and poor clerks putting in an appearance at the commencement of mattins, and then making off to taverns and drinking bouts, returning at the collect in "Lauds", as if in derision of the divine office.

I cite these as specimens of the complaints urged before the Bishop. To enumerate them all would take too much time. I will add that the Chancellor brings a grave charge against John Skynner, chaplain of the chantry of Hugh de Welles, and lesser ones against the Sacrist, Succentor, and Vice-Chancellor.

Next comes the Treasurer, John Haget, who confirms the Chancellor's accusation against the vicars and poor clerks for leaving the choir during Mass, and walking about the church conversing with laymen, so that often only three are left on either side of the choir. He, too, has a number of grievances against the Dean, who he

asserts is in the habit of summoning his brethren in the Chapter unnecessarily and too frequently, when they ought to be engaged in the divine office. But I cut this short, as it only involves repetition.

John Southam, Archdeacon of Oxford, follows. He, too, joins with the Chancellor and Treasurer in reprobating the "*ministri ecclesiæ*" for going out after the "*Venite*" and spending their time in taverns and conversation with the laity, returning just before the "Benediction". It is interesting to note that he mentions a bell called "The Cope Bell", which when rung was the signal for putting on the copes and other vestments. His charges against the Dean are much the same as the preceding; but he complains that the Treasurer has spent money on his own amusements which ought to have been expended on wax-tapers to be lit at the various altars during celebration of Mass, and at the tombs of the Bishops on their anniversaries.

William Lassels, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, confirms the complaint of his brethren on the scanty attendance of the vicars in the choir.

Then comes a non-residentiary Canon, Thomas Petham, Prebendary, of *Sexaginta solidorum*, and has a pecuniary grievance. His *sexaginta solidorum* had not been paid.

Another non-residentiary Canon, John Depyng, Prebendary of Bugden, harps on the same string. He had been defrauded of his dues. He further adds a moral reflection, that the dissensions of the Dean and Chapter make them lazy and arrogant. But he introduces a new topic, and one of importance. He says the chancels of the churches in the patronage of the Chapter are in a ruinous condition, and that the vicarages are so poor that no one will take them except "*idiotæ*", which I take to mean unlettered, ignorant men. He instances the church of Paxton, which is so poor that none will have it but drunkards, such as the man who now has it.

William Derby, Archdeacon of Bedford, has a list of complaints in three schedules, which it is needless to give *in extenso*. Much of it has been forestalled in the preceding complaints. He, too, remarks on the scanty attendance of the vicars, on the Dean's cope being borne when outside his proper jurisdiction, on the demolition

of the north side of the cloister to make a stable for the Dean's horses; but he introduces a much more astounding charge which one would have thought properly belonged to the Chancellor. He declares that on the Vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, A.D. 1435, at vespers, in the sight of all the people and a multitude of strangers, the Dean entered the choir with an armed body of men, and then and there made a violent assault on Peter Partrich, the Chancellor; dragged him, head downwards, on to a bench, by his amice; and otherwise maltreated him. After this aggravated case of assault and battery, the charge of having demolished one side of the Cathedral cloister to build a stable seems comparatively a trifle; and the charges against the Dean of insolence and tyranny over his brother-Canons, and misappropriation of the Cathedral revenues, are simply echoes of the previous complaints. The same remark applies to the charges against the vicars of leaving the choir during divine service for the purpose of gossiping in the nave and Close.

Derby's indictment is excessively lengthy, and ends with a long list of law-pleas set on foot by the Dean during his decanate, to harass the Chapter, with the attendant costs, from 1413 to 1436 inclusive, amounting in money to £808.

The Sub-Dean, John Percy, varies the list of complaints by a new one, against the vergers, for not causing silence to be kept during the preaching of sermons. He also confirms the previous complaints of his colleagues on account of the vicars leaving the choir during divine service, and also mentions the immorality of John Skynner, chaplain of Hugh de Welles' Chantry.

John Marshall, residentiary Canon and Prebendary of Brampton, has a stone to fling at the unfortunate John Skynner, and accuses him of having wasted and ruined the profits and emoluments of his Chantry. He also complains that the dignitaries of the Cathedral shirk the performance of duty in the choir and at the altar, and leave it to Canons like himself to discharge. He not unnaturally pleads that he should be remunerated from the common fund for such duty. He ends with a list of arrears due to him from 1430, amounting to £35 : 6 : 11½.

Richard Ingoldesby, Canon Residentiary, and Prebendary of Welton Beckhall, for the most part agrees with the preceding complaints. He brings forward one, however, of a special character, viz., that the Dean is endeavouring to destroy the Hospital of St. Giles, which is specially founded for the servants of the Canons. This, I must confess, is news to me. The foundation, according to the charter, was for aged and infirm vicars choral and chaplains of the Cathedral. This Canon exhibited his letters of orders, and his title to the parishes of Burton by Lincoln, Welton, and Tydd St. Mary, with his dispensation for plurality.

Finally, Thomas Warde, Canon Residentiary and Prebendary of Carlton-cum-Thurlby, closes the list of complainant Canons. He simply reiterates the charges of his brethren against the Dean.

Hitherto we have heard the complaints of the dignified clergy connected with the Cathedral, which bear lamentable witness to the house being divided against itself. We now have the grievances of the lesser members of the Cathedral body, the vicars, chaplains, and choristers. Their examination was held in the Chapter House on the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th days of October, before Robert Thornton, Official and Commissary of Lincoln, and appointed by the Bishop for this purpose.

William Grantham, vicar and vice-chancellor, and chaplain of the Chantry of William Aveton, begins. His first complaint is that the dignitaries do not observe the feeding of the choir, as they were bound to do, on semi-double feasts. He also mentions the desertion of the choir by vicars of both forms during divine service. He charges the Precentor, Robert Burton, with having pulled down, without authority, two churches annexed to his dignity, viz., St. Peter at the Skinmarket, and St. Edmund by the Friars Minor, and used the stones for his own purposes.

Richard Coupeland, chaplain of the Works Chantry, confirms the complaint as to the vicars leaving the choir; says that the Canons and vicars talk too much during service, and very sensibly adds that the money of the Church is consumed in the vexatious pleas and law-suits between the Dean and the Chapter, so that the chaplains of chantries are deprived of their stipends.

William Shipton, vicar, and chaplain of the Chantry of Simon Barton, says much the same. He brings a charge also against a priest-vicar called Simon Darcy to the effect that he is of illegitimate birth, and has taken Holy Orders without a dispensation. A note at the side of the document is made that Darcy be brought before the Bishop. He has a charge against the Treasurer for spending so much money on feasting and entertaining strangers as to be unable to supply five wax tapers on beams on the north and south sides of the altar, as he was statutorily bound to do.

A number of vicars and chantry chaplains follow, who all tell much the same tale; the quarrels in the Chapter are ruining the Church, the stipends of vicars and chaplains are irregularly paid, the fabric suffers, and the service is shorn of its outward splendour. To recount these in detail would be wearisome; but the evidence of one of the vicarial body, John Skynner, chaplain of Hugh de Welles' Chantry, may be noted as a good instance of the "*tu quoque*" style of argument. He was charged by several of the Canons as well as by some of his brother-vicars with gross immorality; but in his defence he simply contents himself with charging others with the like offence, without in the least denying the accuracy of the charge against himself. He accuses a Canon, Thomas Savage, and a junior vicar, as well as a servant of the Chancellor. Against the charge of having almost ruined his Chantry, he pleads that a pension of ten marks from the rectory of Asfordby is in arrears for four years.

I note amidst this mass of evidence that one vicar, Robert Patryngton, deposes that a Gradual (*i.e.*, a Service-Book), on the north side of the choir, is greatly in need of fresh binding, and has lost several leaves.

William Knight, chaplain of the Gynwell Chantry, introduces a new subject of complaint. He says that the master of the choristers affirms that the Monastery of Haverholm owes the choristers £20, *viz.*, an annual pension of £5 for four years in arrear, to the great damage of their income.

William Burgh, the vicar of Reginald Kentwode, Dean of the Cathedral Church of London, says the choristers are not under governance, but wander about as they like,

and learn nothing. He further complains that in the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary red vestments are worn, whereas they ought to be white.

John Hamond, vicar, after bringing up the accusation previously made against Simon Darcy for the blot on his birth, complains that the roof of the nave of the Cathedral is greatly in want of repair.

John Utlawe, chaplain to the Precentor, affirms that Robert Swaby is a common gamester and player with dice.

We get a little glimpse of the collegiate life of the vicars in the evidence of Thomas Darby, one of the body, and rector of Donington-on-Bain. He says that certain books, viz., the Homilies of Gregory and Bede, were given to the senior vicars in order that some poor person, supported by their bounty, might read to them at the hour of dinner each day; but the books are not put to this use, nor is there any one who would care to read them, or listen to them being read. He also says that the music-books in the choir, in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in the Chapel le Pele, differ greatly from one another.

The gamester, Robert Swaby, who was chaplain of the Cantilupe Chantry, and rejoiced in an *alias*, that of Wylingham, now comes on the scene. His grievances are pecuniary. Money is owed to the Chantry from various quarters.

John Rose, chaplain of the Burghersh Chantry, charges another chaplain with having made off with a chalice worth 30s., substituting one only worth 10s.

Robert Breton, chaplain of the Walmesford Chantry, in general terms complains that the vestments used in the Cathedral are disgracefully out of repair.

A number of poor clerks and junior vicars follow; but their grievances are mainly pecuniary. Among them William Cressy, a subdeacon and junior vicar, speaks of the vestments at the Pele altar as so torn and battered as to be a disgrace, and all owing to John Skynner, the chaplain, who has wasted the goods of the said altar in riotous living.

I must not omit the evidence of a senior vicar, William Muston, who complains that a certain John Bellrynger

keeps a dog in a kennel in the church, close to the Pele altar, which has become a perfect nuisance from its unclean habits.

I cannot give many more details of evidence, but will in general terms say that the tenor is to the effect that both in the city and in the Cathedral decay is visible on all sides. Houses are falling down for want of repair; the "*ministri ecclesiæ*" have their stipends unpaid, or else get them only paid in part; vestments, ornaments, fabric, all are in a shameful condition; discipline is suspended; and all mainly owing to the strife and confusion in the Chapter. The house was falling because divided against itself. I will briefly add that the vergers and bell-ringers unite in complaining against the Precentor for having deprived them of the "feedings" due to them, and I will conclude with the grievances of the choristers, which, as juvenile ones, are somewhat amusing.

William Langholme asks that in winter they should have fuel allowed them.

Robert Ford complains that the stipend due to them for holding a torch has been withheld.

John Wodecok concurs in the above complaints, but further adds that on Fridays and Saturdays they used to have at their breakfasts a composition of flour, honey, and milk, which has been taken away by their steward.

John Paronell says an obit of 20s. value of the late Bishop William, has been taken from them, and mentions the abstraction of their fuel in winter.

John Corbrig complains that at their breakfasts they have nothing but bread.

John Thwyng says that the young vicars frequently beat him and his brother-choristers, and give them boxes on the ears, for nothing.

John Derby says the bell-ringers do not bring them charcoal at the proper time, as they are bound to do by their office.

All with one voice complain that the Precentor has arrogated to himself the power of giving them leave to visit their parents and friends, and go out of the town, which, within the memory of man, has been the prerogative of their steward.

These juvenile grievances complete the list. The evi-

dence is sufficient to show how terribly corrupt the Cathedral life had become, and what a task lay before Bishop Alnwick. He did his best. He compiled his so-called *Novum Registrum*,—a sort of codification of cathedral law; but Dean Mackworth steadily refused to accept it. Into this I need not now go; but I will end my paper with the expression of a hope that this Visitation may prove a fragment in the mass of evidence which illustrates the condition of England in the fifteenth century.

THE ROSE OF PROVENCE AND LILIES
OF FRANCE,
IN A VISION OF LINCOLN.

BY T. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(Read 20 Nov. 1889.)

A GOOD measure of your indulgence is needed on this occasion, particularly from those who have so lately returned from the Lincolnshire Congress, and from visiting the numerous remains of antiquity in that county, especially the Cathedral of Lincoln,—a building for all time, which is not in ruins, like the rest, but unites in everyday utility the days of St. Hugh of Burgundy with those of the revered Prelate who now rules the see, and who honoured the Congress with his presence.

Archæology has to deal with history in a matter of fact way, and from perhaps too strict an observance of the laws of evidence may sometimes not sufficiently take into account the influence of popular feeling through successive ages, which has in a remarkable manner swayed events, the mainsprings of which seem to escape the ken of our philosophy.

It cannot be uninteresting to investigate the state of public feeling which runs through what are called the middle ages; and as the illuminated MSS. of these ages, when they illustrate scenes of ancient Greek and Roman life, are interesting to us in their many-coloured pictures by giving the costume and feelings of the time when they were drawn, and not certainly because they depict Alexander the Great or Julius Cæsar in the veritable costume of the ancients; in like manner a little excursion into the romance and ballad scenery of the eleventh and twelfth centuries may not be out of place if we are not dazzled by the tints of imagination so freely made use of at the time when historians became poets, and poets historians. We must, however, be careful to distinguish between the one and the other, and to give due credit to

those eminent men who have left trustworthy accounts of their own times.

As a prelude to St. Hugh and his works, and to what was going on in England under Henry II, let us carry our vision as far as the fertile province of Burgundy, on the banks of the rivers Saone and Rhone. It probably owed its name to the burghs or fortresses of Valentinian I, and numbered among its chief towns Lyons, Vienne, and Grenoble. When formed into a kingdom, in A.D. 413, it comprised the Vallais of Switzerland, and extended south to the sea at Marseilles, taking in probably the whole of the ancient *Narbonensis*, that is the modern Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc.

This first kingdom of Burgundy lasted, under its own kings, one hundred and twenty years, till finally overthrown by the sons of Clovis, King of the Franks. The baptism of Clovis inflamed his zeal for subduing the Burgundian kings, and after partially defeating them by his arms, they relapsed into Arianism, and were not finally conquered till S. Sigismond annexed Burgundy to the kingdom of the Franks in 534.

Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. i) says "The distinction of Arian and Catholic was intimately connected with that of Goth and Roman, of conqueror and conquered, so that it is difficult to separate the effects of national from those of sectarian animosity." Clovis defeats Alaric II, King of the Visigoths, near Poitiers, who was reigning at Bordeaux, a city of his kingdom of Aquitaine, of which the capital was Toulouse. "It grieves me", said Clovis, "to see the Arians possessing the fairest portion of Gaul." He set off from Paris, calling on his way at Tours to consult at the shrine of St. Martin; and after a great victory over Alaric II, wintered at Bordeaux, notwithstanding the assistance given by Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths of Italy, to his brethren in the west; and so the defeated Visigoths had to leave France for Spain; by which, I suppose, is meant their rulers, and not the mass of the people; and a Visigothic kingdom was founded in Spain, which lasted three hundred years. They retained, however, in Gaul the province of Septimania, or Languedoc, until this was wrested from them by the Mahometans of Spain.

A second Burgundy arose in 888, after the dismemberment of the empire of Charlemagne, and became two separate principalities,—the Transjurane, under Rodolph, which comprised Savoy, the Vallais, and Switzerland; and the Cisjurane, or Provence, with its capital at Arles, under Boson, in 877. The two Burgundies were afterwards united, and ultimately settled upon Conrad, Emperor of Germany, in 1016.

It will be seen that a vast field was open for the poetical treatment of the burning questions which agitated Europe after the fall of ancient Rome. The fear also of being swallowed up by the conquering armies of Mahomet and his Asiatics kept adding fresh fuel to the flames. The incidents of battles and sieges, of private duels, of conspiracies, of revenge, jealousies, and love-adventures, with descriptions of tournaments, ceremonials of the Court and of the Church, afforded to the troubadours of the south and the trouveurs of the north of Europe ample material for their tales of adventure, which were given to the world as history, and circulated from one nation to another. These bards or minstrels were welcome as well to the castle of the baron, the monastery of the monk, and the more humble dwelling of the knight, as they were to the hall of the merchant and the cottage of the poor.

The monks who, with some few of the more polished of the ruling chiefs, alone cultivated literature, and knew how to write, would be glad to receive the stories of what was going on in the world, and by moulding them into shape might exercise, in this manner, an important influence on the ballads themselves, and correct the gross licentiousness and immorality of many such compositions, or qualify them at least by the recital of noble examples from history, which were often strung together without much regard to time or distance. The preaching friars also had a large share in educating public opinion.

The five events below named under their dates, perhaps more than any other threw a veil of poetry over the centuries under review,—the *first* Crusade, preached by St. Bernard, 1095-99; the *second*, under the command of Conrad III and Lewis VII of France, in 1147; the *third*, under the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa of Burgundy,

Philip Augustus of France, and Richard I of England, in 1189; the *fourth* in 1248; and *fifth* in 1270, under St. Lewis IX of France.

The crusade against heretics in Europe, preached against the Albigenses of Provence, and headed by Simon de Montfort, stirred the deepest feelings of human nature midst scenes of tyranny and bloodshed. The description of the war by Vaissette, the historian of Languedoc, is said by Mr. H. Hallam (*Middle Ages*) to be fairly given, and he adds that the "Benedictine spirit of mildness and veracity tolerably counterbalanced the prejudices of orthodoxy."

Other crusades for the conversion of refractory heretics were undertaken until zeal for such means of persuasion grew cool; but Spain could never wipe out the stain of Islam until she had restored the whole of her fertile provinces to Christendom, which was only completed after an occupation by the Arabians of nearly eight hundred years. The new and peculiar state of public feeling in and after the tenth century may be attributed, in its origin, to—

1. The great power acquired by the feudal chieftains after the disruption of the empire of Charlemagne, when the great nobles almost converted their fiefs into petty sovereignties, and Hugh Capet seems by this agency to have acquired the crown of France.

2. The religious differences of the Goths and the Catholics of New Rome, as well as of the Greek Church struggling for power in the West.

3. The invasions of the Arabians or Moors, who, after rendering themselves formidable on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, became masters, at the beginning of the eighth century, of the whole of Spain, and the consequent danger to the rest of Europe.

4. The zeal and party spirit which gave to the Catholics of various nationalities that unity which made them predominant over other confraternities.

5. The influence, as before named, of the Crusades both against the Saracens of the East as well as against the Albigensian heretics in Languedoc, and against the Moors in Spain, together with the institution of the religious orders of knights devoted to adventures in the service of religion, gallantry, and danger.

Among the numerous secondary causes, the revolutions in the families of kings and of chieftains contributed largely to act upon public opinion ; and it is incorrect to assume that there was no public opinion in those days, though formed in a manner differently from our own. The minstrels or bards had the opportunity, by moving among different classes of men, to influence those by whom they made their living, by picking up anecdotes and scraps of history, to sing or recite in the palaces, castles, and monasteries where they were entertained. They were welcomed as are the daily newspapers of the modern world, and were able to fill up many a dreary interval of leisure at a time when books were expensive, and only read by the few. They undoubtedly did, by their love of travel and adventure, largely tend to form public opinion in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as appears by their literary productions ; but whether these can be absolutely traced to the early dates assigned to them by later writers is a question still *sub judice*. The lives of early troubadours are often given when none of their works survive to prove even their existence. M. de Sismondi (*Literature of Europe*) is unable to trace any written ballads of the troubadours before the eleventh or twelfth centuries. He finds a MS. of about this date of the Chronicle of Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, in which is described the history of Charlemagne and his paladins. Arabian tales were sometimes versified, and Persian poetry also placed under contribution. In the twelfth century Carmentière, a monk of the Isles of Hières, compiled some account of Romance poems by direction of Alphonso II, King of Arragon and Count of Provence.

The poetry of the South is indebted to M. de Curne de Ste. Pelaye, who devoted his whole life to collecting and explaining these works. His MSS., filling twenty-five folio volumes, have not been printed *in extenso*. M. Raynouard has published a *Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours*, but without annotation and without translation (Sismondi).

After the twelfth century the ballads became more numerous, and tended to form the languages of modern Europe. Some are very long, and what in these days

we should call tedious and prosy; but they would not have been repeated in full at one time. The "Romance of the Rose" contains 20,000 verses, and is the work of two different authors:—4,150 verses were written by Guillaume de Lorris, who died in 1260; while his continuator, Jean de Meun, produced the remainder of the poem fifty years later. "The Lay of Aristotle", by Henry d'Audelay, is noted by M. de Sismondi. It has been edited by Sir Frederick Madden. "Amadis of Gaul", the model of chivalric romances, is claimed by the people south of the Pyrenees as the work of Vasco Lobeira, a Portuguese, who lived between 1290 and 1325.

The transformation of Latin into the Romance languages, and the relation of the popular language to the Latin in each country, is not easily settled by what little evidence there is on the subject. M. de Sismondi is surely too arbitrary in fixing at particular periods the formation of—the *Provençal* at some time within a range of ten years, at the court of Bozon, King of Arles; of the *French*, within a range of twenty-six years, at the court of William Longsword, son of Rollo; of the *Castilian*, within a range of twenty-eight years, at the Court of Ferdinand the Great; of the *Portuguese*, within a range of seventeen years, at the court of Count Henry, founder of the monarchy; of the *Italian*, within a range of twenty-five years, at the court of Roger I, King of Sicily; that is, when firm governments were formed by uniting separate nationalities.

It is against our experience that the language of a country should change at one time: on the contrary, a change of language progresses very slowly. Still the formation of a court, whether of a king or of a great baron, would facilitate the moulding into one of the various dialects of which a country might consist, through the authority of bards, chroniclers, and other literary men.

The Counts of Provence were not the only sovereigns in the south of France at whose courts the *langue d'Oc*, or Romance Provençal, was spoken. At the end of the eleventh century one half of France was governed by almost independent princes, the most renowned being the Counts of Toulouse, Dukes of Aquitaine, Dauphins of Viennois and Auvergne, the Princes of Orange, and the

Counts of Foix. The *langue d'Oc*, then, is given by M. de Sismondi to the south of France, and the *langue d'Oil* to the north.

In the time of the Romans, Lyons was the great seat of learning in Gaul, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that pretty good Latin was spoken there, and might be called the language between two rivers, Saone and Rhone, to distinguish it from the *Oil*, Wallon or Celtic, for the French pronunciation brings out nearly the same sound. Celtic France is described by C. J. Cæsar as running across diagonally from the Lyonnese province No. 1 up to the north-west, or No. 3, which is Brittany, Lyonnese No. 2 and 4 being respectively Normandy and Champagne, with the Isle of France.

The language of Catalonia and Provence seems to have been at one time the same, and even at the present day has not been merged into the Castilian. Royal personages were not above adopting the language and sentiments of troubadours, and composing ballads on themes of war, gallantry, and love. Of this we have an instance in our own Richard Cœur de Lion, who filled up the time of his imprisonment by Leopold, Duke of Austria, in weaving such compositions.

One of the most Quixotic of troubadours was Pierre Vidal of Toulouse, who followed the said King Richard in the third Crusade, and "was no less celebrated for his extravagant actions than for his poetical talent." He recalls, in his writings, the glorious days of his youth, when Heaven permitted all Europe to be governed by heroes; when Germany had the Emperor Frederick I; England, Henry II and his three sons; Toulouse, Count Raymond; and Catalonia, Count Béranger and his son Alphonso.

William IX, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine (born in 1071, died 1127), was a composer of troubadour poems. He was father of the famous Eleanor, Queen of France, who, divorced from Louis le Jeune, transferred the sovereignty of Guienne, Poitou, and Saintonge, to Henry II of England when she became his wife. Another Eleanor of Provence, in marrying Henry III of England, brought her husband the magnificent dower of that French province.

A new phase in the history of Europe could not but react upon England when Henry II became King. He had inherited Normandy from his mother, and Anjou from his father; and adding to these domains the great Duchy brought by his Queen, Eleanor, he became possessed of more than half of France. The insular position of England, if it has been a cause, with our writers, for depreciating the influence upon it of foreign nations, has also enabled their writers to undervalue the influence of this country upon continental Europe.

The Cathedral of Lincoln, which crowns the heights of the upper city, furnishes useful historical lessons in its architecture no less than in the lives of its bishops. St. Hugh of Burgundy, the sixth Bishop, claims the honour of having rebuilt the old Norman church of St. Remigius; and in considerate reverence for those who went before, he preserved, in the beautiful west front, a portion of the old wall of the Norman church with its still older sculptured frieze. This ancient relic, while it somewhat jars with the beautiful architecture in which it is enclosed, may be likened to a rough Anglo-Saxon jewel in a setting of filigree-work.

Mr. John Henry Parker, in describing the Cathedral in *Archæologia*, xlvii, p. 45, establishes the fact that the work of the time of St. Hugh (1192-1200) is pure Early English Gothic; and it is, he says, "the earliest building of that style in the world. The best informed French archæologists admit that they have nothing of the character of Lincoln for twenty or thirty years after the time of St. Hugh. He employed the natives of the county, and the style is that of Lincolnshire and part of Yorkshire at the end of the twelfth century, or just before the year 1200. The arches of the central tower of the small church of Clee, at the mouth of the Humber, dedicated by St. Hugh in 1192, the year the Cathedral was commenced, will be found to be almost equally advanced in style." He says, further, that "the choir and aisles of Lincoln were originally intended to have had wooden roofs; but St. Hugh insisted on having stone vaults, to which he had been accustomed at Grenoble. The same thing had previously occurred at Waltham, in Somersetshire, where the parish church of the Carthusian monastery of St. Hugh still remains."

This is a very positive statement, if only given on architectural grounds, and it should be borne in mind that there were two Bishops Hugh of Lincoln living within a short period of each other; that is, St. Hugh of Burgundy, consecrated in 1186, and Hugh of Wells, consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in 1206; and the works of the two in succession at Lincoln may easily be confounded together.

Hugh (Trotman), the second Hugh of Lincoln, was brother of the Joceline (Trotman), Bishop of Bath, who rebuilt the Cathedral of Wells from the presbytery westward, and rededicated it in 1239. The acts of the Church for the purpose of reducing to a stricter submission to her canons the too independent monastic Orders, and the part taken by the two Trotmans in the strife, are delineated with much clearness by the Rev. C. M. Church, M.A., F.S.A., in *Archæologia*, li, p. 281.

There was an intimate connection between the two Cathedrals. The second Bishop, Hugh of Lincoln, had been Archdeacon of Wells, and founded, in conjunction with his brother, a religious house at Southover (part of Wells) in 1236.

The two western towers of Lincoln rise from behind the western wall which screens their bases. The towers are carried up far above their original elevation, as are those at Wells, having been added to more than a century after the Early English work, which in both cases had to be strengthened to support the increased weight.

Proceeding round the exterior, from the south-west tower, the projection of St. Hugh's chapel is seen, and then two transepts, which are thrown out, of different lengths; the longest being the first arrived at, with its galilee porch entrance in its western wall, beautifully harmonising with the rest of the building. The south side of this transept is divided horizontally into three portions. The middle story is lighted by a rose-window with flowing tracery, popularly known as "the Bishop's Eye"; and the upper by a window of five lights, also decorated with tracery in similar taste which adorns the gable. The wall of the presbytery then follows in continuation, with its ornate windows and buttresses; and a porch famous for its sculpture, embodying a scene, over

the arch (in high relief) of the Last Judgment. The sides and mouldings of the deeply set porch are richly adorned with rows of statues and strings of foliage, in the style of the portals of continental churches, particularly that of Amiens, visited by this Association in 1883.

The adornment of the east end of the Cathedral must be left to the professional architect to describe. It has a beauty of its own beyond all praise; and from this side a good view is obtained of the lofty central tower, which rises 238 ft. from the ground to the top of the battlement placed there in 1775. The architecture of its upper story and that of the eastern part of the Cathedral seems to belong to the reign of Edward I. The two lower stories of the tower had been built by Bishop Grossetête when he was repairing the Cathedral, and made good the central tower which had fallen in 1237.

The north side of the church, without being so rich in ornamentation as the south, has many beauties peculiar to itself, and from its easternmost transept proceeds a vestibule leading to a cloister of an oblong form, 118 ft. by 90 ft. The north side of this is modern, being a Doric erection of Sir Christopher Wren. The other sides have much merit, with a vaulting of wood ornamented with carved figures on some of the bosses at the intersection of the ribs.

On the east side of the cloister is the chapter-house, a decagon of about 60 ft. diameter within, vaulted with stone, and with a central, clustered pillar of Purbeck marble to support the roof.

Inside the church, on entering by the western door, is seen a venerable piece of antiquity in the font, which must be at least as old as the time of Remigius. At the right is the chapel of St. Hugh of Burgundy; and looking up towards the choir, which is known by his name, the view is grand; and the stone roof to the nave, if not finished in his time, may yet have been planned under this Prelate. The flying buttresses spanning the choir-aisles, to counteract the thrust of the choir-walls to bear the heavy stone roof, are interesting examples of mediæval ingenuity.

A monument in the south aisle of the choir is dedicated to a child, the hero of a ballad, called Sir Hugh,

crucified in 1225, according to tradition, by certain Jews, and afterwards interred here as a martyr. There are instances of similar traditions elsewhere, though it is difficult to believe that the Jews would have ventured upon an act of this nature, oppressed as they were in respect of their persons and property by severe laws.

In the south side of the presbytery are two table-monuments to Catherine Swynford, wife of John of Gaunt, and their daughter Joan. Opposite are two cenotaphs erected by Bishop Buller to the memory of Remigius and Bloet, the first and second Bishops of the see; the latter having been chaplain to William I, and Chancellor to William II. As he filled the bishopric during thirty years, he had the opportunity of seeing completed the architectural works of his predecessor in the cathedral church.

In the eastern wall of the north-east transept anciently stood the altar of John the Baptist, appropriated to the chantry of Queen Eleanor of Castile, originally founded at Harby, where she died, and was transferred hither by Edward II in 1310. There is a chantry of the Burghersh family, founded by Bartholomew Lord Burghersh in 1345, and dedicated to St. Catherine.

A monument to Bishop Fleming records his death in 1430, and a beautiful altar-tomb of Bishop Longland commemorates a Bishop who lived to see the Reformation carried out in the diocese by Henry VIII.

Before leaving the Cathedral, the names may be given of the Bishops who held the see after Bishop Bluet, and before Bishop Hugh of Burgundy, who built a new Cathedral. To Bishop Alexander, the third Bishop, who in 1144 repaired much of the old Cathedral, which had suffered from a fire, succeeded Robert de Chesney, who died in 1167; after which the see was vacant eighteen years, if we leave out the episcopate of Geoffrey Plantagenet, a natural son of Henry II, who appears to have been elected in 1173, though he was never consecrated, and was translated to the archbishopric of York. Gautier de Coutances succeeded at the end of 1183, and held the see for one year, till translated to Rouen. His removal introduced the famous Hugh de Grenoble, or of Burgundy, whose church extended no farther eastward than

the high altar, terminating in an apse, which was removed when the present presbytery was added to the building for the reception, *inter alia*, of the remains of St. Hugh translated to a shrine behind the altar. The ground-plan of the apse was ascertained in 1852, and has been described by the Rev. Precentor Venables in *Journal*, vol. xlv, of the Archæological Institute. The apse was not semicircular, but consisted of three sides formed by straight lines on a triangular projection. In two of the sides were two small chapels.

The history of Bishop Hugh, in brief, is as follows. He was born of a noble family at the Castle of Avalon, on the borders of Savoy, where his father lived. At the early age of eight years he was placed in a monastery of Regular Canons in the neighbourhood, and at the age of nineteen was ordained a deacon. On the occasion of a visit he paid to the Grande Chartreuse, in company of the Prior, he was seized with the desire of living the more rigid life of a Carthusian monk, and was received at that house, where he soon gained a reputation for his austere piety and learning. Our King Henry II. appointed him to govern the Carthusian Monastery of Witham in Somersetshire,¹ lately founded, and the first of the Order established in England. Here he employed himself actively in repairing and improving the building. He was appointed to the diocese of Lincoln through the influence of the King as soon as a vacancy occurred. He sent a deputation to the Grande Chartreuse for permission from that Monastery to accept the proffered bishopric, which was granted, and he was consecrated at Westminster, in the Chapel of St. Catherine, on 21st Sept. 1186; and as he died in London on 17th Nov. 1200, he thus occupied the see for nearly fourteen years.

When his body was brought to Lincoln, the two Kings, John of England and Alexander II of Scotland (this

¹ In the Calendar of the Registry of John de Drogheda, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1309-29, printed by the Somerset Record Society, 1887 (pp. 88, 89), is an account rendered by the Abbot and Convent of Glastonbury, sub-collectors to the Bishop of Winchester, chief collector of the tenth imposed by Pope John XXII on the clergy. The acquittance of the Bishop, dated April 15th, 1319, was for £1,149 18s., and among the deductions was £9 for the two Carthusian houses of Hinton and Witham. These exceptions are unexplained.

latter having married Joan, the English King's daughter), were holding a conference at Lincoln, and they carried the corpse on their own shoulders from the city gate to the Cathedral Close, where it was conveyed by the great functionaries, lay and ecclesiastical, to the east end of the church, near the altar of St. John the Baptist.

The translation of the remains of the Saint took place in 1282, in the episcopate of Oliver Sutton, and were deposited in a shrine of solid silver and costly workmanship. This part of the building, now called the Angels' Choir, from the numerous figures of angels carved on the corbels which sustain the roof, was built to receive the shrine and its honoured contents.

The twelfth century closes with the year of the first Bishop Hugh's death; the thirteenth begins a memorable era in church building, and not less so in the building up of those poetical compositions to which reference has been made.

The Romance ballads of minstrelsy are as conspicuous in the formation of English literature as they were in that of continental Europe. They have been amply edited and commented upon by Wharton, Percy, Ritson, Tanner, Ellis, Thomas Wright, Laing, Madden, Halliwell, Morris and Skeat, and a host of other writers. But the obscurity in the chronology of these poems cannot be entered into upon this occasion. It will be enough to note some of the Romance ballads which are suggested by this county of Lincoln and its surroundings.

It is difficult to fix any of them to a date as far back as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The earliest seem to be of the thirteenth and later; and as time wore on they increased in wonderment and visions and dramatic situations. The Welshman Giraldus, who had lived under Kings Henry II, Richard, and John, was eminently learned for his time, and his writings were imbued with the ancient literature of Greece and Rome. The influence of his works, such as the *Perambulation of Wales*, the *History and Conquest of Ireland*, and the *Lives of the Bishops of Lincoln*, must have given a tone to his contemporaries, and restrained perhaps, as long as he lived, the vagaries of the imagination which minstrels and poets were then prone to indulge in. Though, however,

he was a serious historian, he also was not a little addicted to the marvellous. He believed in prophecies and visions, instancing Merlin Ambrosius and his namesake, the Caledonian Merlin, as men who could, both of them, foresee coming events, yet had not the power of working miracles. Such an author would justify the Vision of Thurkill, commented on and printed in the original text in *Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 420, which seems to have been transcribed at St. Alban's in about 1250, and will be referred to hereafter.

But in the meantime, postponing Thurkill's, let us first indulge in a vision of our own, called up by the late Congress, which is retrospective, not prophetic. The ancient relics of Lincoln were not only visited under the able guidance of the Rev. Precentor Venables, but were brought a second time before the eyes of the visitors in lime-light views, which accompanied his descriptions, in the evening. The old Roman memorials are unusually striking: the mosaic pavement exposed to sight in the quadrangle of the Cathedral cloister; the Newport Archway, the northern Roman barrier which still serves as a gate for horse and foot-passengers; the basement of columns *in situ*, discovered a few years ago beneath the houses of Mr. Allis and Mr. Blaze; the remains in Bailgate and elsewhere; portions of the Roman city walls; the milestone of Victorinus, marking fourteen miles to *Segelocum*; besides the fragments of Roman times collected together in the cloisters. These all told of a civilisation existing before Bishop Paulinus.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew has at various times announced discoveries within the Roman city, described in our *Journal*, and Mr. Michael Drury was to read a paper on the subject at the Congress, therefore it only remains to follow up these, in our vision, with a scene, according to the Venerable Bede, of the baptism of many converts to Christianity in the river Trent, near Tiovulfingachester, by Paulinus, in presence of King Edwin of Northumbria, in 627; before he had converted Blecca, with his whole house, who was Prefect of the city of Lincoln; and he constructed a church there, of good workmanship, in which he consecrated the Archbishop Honorius.

Invasions of Danes, the first of which is set down as in

787, brought misfortune upon Kesteven and Holland ; the latter being the south-eastern portion, and the former the south-western part of Lincolnshire, were separated by crosses in the reign of Richard II.¹ The church of Sidnacester, in Lindesey, seems to have been ruined by Danish inroads in about 870, and the century following their first landing is filled with similar misdeeds,² till Alfred the Great, in 879, effected the conversion of Guthrum, or Gorm, to Christianity, and resigned to him the government of the eastern half of the island.

Another hundred years then allowed some peace to these parts, till Sweyn, the heathen King of Denmark, entered the Humber, and brought serious disasters upon Lincolnshire ; but he was stayed by the hand of death at Gainsborough in 1014, and his son, Canute, being a Christian, though a Dane, reconciled the inhabitants of this county to his law and government until his death in 1035. The invasion of Harold Hardrada, of Norway, in 1066, was defeated by Harold the Saxon, who, however, succumbed to William the Conqueror ; and the new government effected a revolution in the bishoprics, which, after a decree passed by the Council in London in 1075 or 1076, were to be removed, as to their cathedral churches, from the small villages in which some were placed, to the large cities.

Remigius, a monk of Fécamp, had been appointed to the see of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, and he removed the headquarters of the see to Lincoln in about 1078 ; the old dioceses of Lindesey and Leicester had been incorporated in 951. Remigius divided his new province into seven archdeaconries, of Lincoln, Huntingdon with Hertford, Northampton, Leicester, Oxford, Buckingham, and Bedford. As to the two before named places, Tio-vulfingacester and Sidnachester, it does not appear possible to identify their sites by etymology alone, which at best is liable to error ; but surrounding circumstances may help conjecture as to the ancient spots.

I might suggest, though with reserve, not knowing

¹ 14th Ric. II, Dugdale, Imbank, p. 197.

² See "The Danes in Lincolnshire", in a paper printed in *Report of the Lincoln and other Architectural Societies* (1859), by the Rev. Edw. Trollope, F.S.A., Rector of Leasingham.

whether such a derivation has been proposed before, that the name Tio vulfnigestre may mean "the twelve-acre camp", which appears more clearly in the reading of one MS., *Tuelfingecestre*.

Roman roads and civilisation are generally sure guides to the first Christian establishments. Lincoln being a great Roman centre, had in the second or third century two roads leading to it from the south,—one from London by way of Leicester, Newark, and Brough; the other from Cambridge and the eastern counties, which ran in a very straight line from Castor, near Peterborough, through Ancaster, to Lincoln.

Two churches were visited having characteristics of early work in their walls and towers, and showing, by the excellence of some of the early carved stones, the importance of their rank in primitive times. These are the churches of Southwell and Stow. The former, in Nottinghamshire, would not be far from the Roman road from Leicester to Lincoln; the second, to the north of Lincoln, would be not far from the Roman road which continues from Lincoln northward, through Littleborough (*Segelocum*) to Doncaster (*Dunum*).

Tio vulfingachester could not be Southwell, as the place so named by Bede is said to be in Kesteven, whereas Southwell is twenty miles west of the border; and as it was on the Trent, it is difficult to find a place which would answer to it, unless it were Newark or Gainsborough. It is suggested by Camden, though with even more than his usual caution, that the name Kesteven may be derived from *Causennæ*, a Roman station twenty-six miles south of Lincoln.

Sidnachester would probably be north of Lincoln, in the district of Lindsey, of which it was the mother-church, on the high-road to the north. And what other large church would answer to it so well as Stow? For these reasons archæologists of credit have not hesitated to fix Sidnachester at Stow, which opinion is confirmed by Mr. Brock for architectural reasons.

Besides these two Anglo-Saxon foundations, portions of the towers of St. Peter-at-Gowts and of St. Mary-Wigford, which stand in the lower parts of Lincoln, may possibly claim a connection with the early churches of Paulinus.

Southwell was visited on Friday of the official week, and Stow on the Saturday. We somewhat disregard the order in which the places were seen for the sake of method in referring to them.

The foundation of Southwell Minster as a college of secular canons is lost in the obscurity of Danish invasions. King Edgar subscribed the grant by Edwy to Oscytel, Archbishop of York, of the Crown lands at Southwell in 958, at which time the college is supposed to have been restored. The church was raised to the dignity of the mother-church of Nottingham in the archiepiscopate of Thomas II (1109-14), and the rebuilding on a large scale was begun; Henry I granting to the prebendaries of St. Mary the same liberties as were enjoyed by those of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon; and they were exempted from all episcopal jurisdiction and custom as to their churches and lands, though the Archbishops remained patrons of the college, and were also its visitors. The vicars of the prebends had important duties to perform. In fact, the organisation of the college was very complete, and may be taken as a model of such establishments.

Interfered with at the Reformation, yet the Chapter retained its functions, and only ceased to exist in 1873. Five years later (41 and 42, Vict., c. 38) the counties of Nottingham and Derby were formed into a separate diocese, and the Prelate, Dr. Trollope, now Sutragan Bishop of Nottingham, explained to our party the history and architectural features of the beautiful Minster, which is now the cathedral church of a new diocese. A very full account of the building was given by the Rev. James F. Dymock, Canon of Southwell, in *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 265, and a further account by Mr. Greville M. Livett, B.A. (Southwell, 1883), supplies other particulars for which I am indebted. He gives a ground-plan of Norman church (restored) as well as the following dates, in round numbers, of the nave and transepts, 1110 (?); choir, 1230-50; north transept chapel, c. 1260; cloister to chapter-house, 1270-85; chapter-house and vestibule, 1285-1300; organ-screen, 1335-40.

The old Palace, which adjoins the Minster, is associated with many historical scenes of the past connected with the archiepiscopal visitors of York.

The large church of St. Mary Magdalene, at Newark, was viewed after the ruins of the old Castle, which last recalls many fatal passages in the history of England in the times of Henry II and King Stephen, as well as at a more recent period. It is said by Henry of Huntingdon to have been built, as well as that at Sleaford (Eslaforð), by Alexander, the Bishop of Lincoln who fortified so many places in his diocese, after the manner of his uncle, the castle-building Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, one of whose strongholds was brought to our notice at the De-veizes Congress in 1880.

Gainsborough, on the Trent, was the Sheerness of the Danes sailing up from the Humber, and the key of their position in Lincolnshire.

The Church of All Saints, with its old tower and modern nave and choir, has an interest conferred upon it by its predecessor, which, if not as old as Anglo-Saxon times, yet recalls a building on the spot wherein the marriage of Alfred the Great was solemnised. It was visited on Saturday, when the fine rood-loft of Coates Church was also seen before proceeding to Stow.

For the architecture of all these churches I must refer to the descriptions by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock and to the paper he read at an evening meeting on the subject. The same may be said of the castles, many of which were visited, either wholly or partially in ruins; such as Lincoln Castle, described by Mr. George Patrick. In fact, architecture must decide many points and many dates which history fails to record. The Worshipful the Mayor of Lincoln, a good authority in these matters, referred to this special prerogative of his favourite science.

The progress on Thursday was to the low country of Holland and to the mouth of the river Witham, where stands Boston (contracted from "Botolph's Town"), which once, when the market of the staple had been fixed here in Edward III's time, was a busy mart of commerce, rivalling the towns of Holland over the sea, and having much intercourse with them as well as with Spain. The warehouse in Spain Lane may remind us of this, as did the arms of the Guild of Spanish Merchants carved in the Jacobean oak chimney-piece at the Star Hotel, Yarmouth, during our Congress there in 1879.

The escallop-shell also of St. James, on one of the rood-screens of Norfolk, recalled the sailing of pilgrims from these eastern ports for the shrine of St. Iago de Compostella, in Spain, referred to hereafter in Thurkill's Vision.

The reclamation of the Fens, by guiding the inland waters, and keeping out those of the ocean, is a subject, the history of which, from the time of the Romans to that of a Duke of Bedford, has been treated of at our Wisbech Congress, when Mr. J. W. Grover concisely and practically summed up the matter with references to the many authors who have written on the subject at length.¹ St. Guthlac of Croyland, in his Visions, has drawn in rather high colours the horrors of his residence there, unless there had been a very retrograde movement in the Fens since the works of the Romans were constructed.²

The Town Hall and Church of St. Botolph, with its tower, said to be the third highest in Europe (cynically called "The Stump"), were not less interesting than were the other ancient buildings visited. The stalls in the large church, for members of the guilds, showed that Boston was not behind Sleaford and Lincoln in these corporations half religious, half mercantile.

On Wednesday, under the able guidance of Dr. Trollope, the Right Rev. Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham, Sleaford was to be visited—who also, on the Southwell day, kindly conducted the Congress party—and opportunity was afforded of seeing churches in the villages of Kirkby-Laythorpe, Asgarby, Howell, Heckington, and Ewerby. The interiors of the two last were inspected; but the three former could only be viewed externally, for want of time.³

The influence of Neustria and Austrasia, after the Conquest, was perhaps to be recognised in the county by the number of lordships held, according to *Domesday Book*, by each of the two barons, Alan Rufus of Brittany, who held one hundred and one lordships, and Gilbert de Gau-

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxxv, p. 349.

² See *Memorials of St. Guthlac*, by Walter de Gray Birch, F.S.A. Wisbech, 1879.

³ To his account of Sleaford and Lincolnshire generally I am largely indebted to the Rev. G. Oliver, D.D., Vicar of Scopwith, etc., in his *History of the Holy Trinity Guild at Sleaford*. With copious Notes and Appendix. Lincoln, 1837.

dovo, or Gaunt, grandson of Baldwin Earl of Flanders, who held one hundred and thirteen; these territories being largely in excess of those held by the rest of the higher nobility.

The once famous Lincoln Heath, extending from Sleaford northward to Lincoln, formerly the dread of travellers, is now enclosed and planted. "The fens are universally drained, and yield good crops of corn; the wolds, by the use of bone-manure and marl, having become exceedingly productive." Dunsby Hill, which rises out of the plain, was infested by highwaymen down to a recent period, but can now be safely visited for its splendid panorama. The spires of Hekington, Helpringham and Aswarby, Ewarby and Anwick, Digby and Ashby de la Launde, stand out in the distance; while below, in the valley to the east, are the humble towers of Ruskington and Dorrington. To the north, the Heath extended in view to the Cathedral towers of Lincoln and to Dunstan Pillar, rising out of a clump of trees. The tower of Temple Bruer is also seen a little to the west. The knights of this preceptory, together with the nobility, held annual jousts and tournaments on the Heath by royal patent.¹ The spired churches of Kesteven are a distinguishing feature by which the quiet villages around them can be recognised.

Comparing the peaceable times when these were built with the period of the fortified castles and manor-houses which preceded them, we may moralise on the disappearance of the humble tenants of the former as well as of the mighty ones of the earth in their harness of steel and strongholds of stone. "Of the baronial residences of the Longshamps, the Pedwardines, the Vescis, the Bardolfs and Everinghams, the Latimers and Busseys, the Hardbys and Berties, the Ryes and the De la Laundes, scarcely a vestige remains to point out their former strength or magnificence."

The Castle of Kyme, once the seat of the accomplished Earl of Angus, and after him of Sir Gilbert Talbois, Lord Kyme, has alike passed away. "From the family of Kyme, who first resided in the Castle, the estates fell to Umfraville, Earl of Angus, by marriage with the daughter

¹ Rot. Pat. 1, 8 Edward III.

and heiress, in the reign of Edward II ; and in two descents, the name of Umfraville failing in its turn, the Kyme barony and estates by an entail became vested in Walter Talbois, son of Henry Talbois, by marriage with the granddaughter of Gilbert Umfraville. This family resided in Kyme Castle, and continued for six descents, when the male line again failing, the Kyme property was dispersed."¹

The tower or keep, with walls 7 ft. thick, survives the rest of the Castle, which is demolished. The stone castles of Kyme and Sleaford are a curious contrast to that of Tattershall, constructed of brick in a later age; the latter being a very exceptional case of a fortified castle in this material, as explained by Mr. Brock.

We may now consider the remains of Temple Bruer, a preceptory of the Knights Templars, founded in the twelfth century by Matilda de Cauz or by the first William d'Essheby. The tower was preserved by Charles Chaplin, Esq., of Blankney, who also explored the foundations of the building, and ascertained the ground-plan.

The Preceptor of the Temple had also a lodge in Scopwith Field, from a grant made as early as the reign of Henry II by John d'Eyncourt, Lord of Blankney, enfeoffed with two carucates, or 240 acres, of land in Scopwith Field, adjoining the territories of the Order, and a "bercary" for the residence of the shepherds.

Besides the lodge, the Preceptor had a spacious grange about half a mile westward, and almost opposite the present Green Man Inn.² He had also another grange at Wellingore.

Catley Priory was not visited, for, indeed, it no longer exists, though the masses of its foundations cover a space of 4 or 5 acres of ground; yet it may be mentioned as being in the centre of a circle of religious houses.

To the north and east, on the borders of the Fen, lay Bardney, Stixwold, Kirkstead, and Tattershall; four or five miles to the south were Kyme and Haverholm, and westward lay the Preceptory of Temple Bruer. Besides which the Monastery of St. Catherine at Lincoln had a grange in Scopwith Field, and the Abbey of Kirkstead a "vaccary" at Mere Booths.

¹ Rev. Dr. Oliver, p. 17

² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

A cross stood at Digby, near Sleaford, where four roads met leading to religious establishments ; that is, to the Cathedral of Lincoln, to Catley, to Temple Bruer, and to Haverholm Priory.

At Haverholm, the seat of our President, the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, we were cordially welcomed, and shown many interesting MSS. and antiquarian objects adorning the house, which is modern, though built on the site of the old Priory. The Dugdale MS. preserved there contains drawings of memorial brasses and sculptures of churches in the neighbourhood, many of which no longer exist, and therefore the record is most valuable.

The Bishop of Nottingham gave an account of the Cistercian Monastery founded here by Bishop Alexander of Lincoln. The monks, who had been brought from Fountains Abbey, after two years found the situation damp, and left it ; but the lands were transferred to the then newly established Order of Gilbertines, who settled here in 1139, and remained till the dissolution. The Gilbertines were an English Order, founded by one Gilbert of Sempringham in this county, confirmed by Pope Eugenius III in 1148, for men and women in separate establishments.

The town of Sleaford was anciently the property of the Bishop of Lincoln, and in the Castle the Bishop could live in the splendour and security of a feudal baron. It is not, then, to be wondered at that the church should be remarkable for its size, and elaborate in its workmanship. The rood-screen, of the fifteenth century, in perfect condition, attracted much attention. Of the Castle a small ruin of masonry alone remains, with traces of foundations and ditches.

The Guild of the Holy Trinity attained much eminence in Sleaford, and has been thought to date from a very early period, though no document is known dated earlier than 1477. The brethren possessed a house near the church, called Guildhall. There were minor guilds in the town, but they were all subordinate to the direction of the Holy Trinity Guild.

The tower of Lord Hussey's residence, *temp.* Henry VIII, was seen. As Sir John Hussey this nobleman was in

high favour with that King, and being one of the Lords of his Council, and Lord Lieutenant of the County of Lincoln, he was raised to the peerage; yet notwithstanding his merits and high position, the popular rising of the people, who were assembled to the number of 20,000, in which he was thought to be implicated, caused his downfall. The people were stirred up by the edict whereby many of the old holidays were abrogated, especially those that fell in harvest-time; and this, added to the innovations in religion, caused a rising which Lord Hussey, perhaps, had no means of controlling. He was beheaded in the Castle-yard of Lincoln, and his manor of £5,000 a year confiscated.

We will now return to Lincoln, taking up a position at the lower part of the city, where the Convent of St. Catherine once stood, and may picture the popular monarch, James I, quartered in that house, and receiving a deputation of the Mayor and Aldermen of Lincoln in their scarlet robes, arriving on horseback, two and two, with mace-bearers, and men on foot in civil costume, accompanied by the Sheriffs, with all the then punctilious paraphernalia of office. A part of the regalia of the Corporation, which were seen at the Congress, and commented on by Major Lambert, probably did duty on the occasion.

The Mayor presented the King with a silver cup weighing 100 marks of silver or thereabouts, and then mounted, with the sword in his hand, between the serjeants-at-mace to precede the King to the Minster. The Earl of Rutland being Lord Lieutenant of the County, bore the King's sword. The King then rode in his caroché up the High Street, through the Baile, unto the Minster gates at the west end thereof, where the King kneeled down on a cushion and prayed a short prayer; and so, under a canopy which was held over him by four or six prebendaries in surplices, went into the choir; Mr. Dean (Roger Parker, D.D.) saying prayers, the Mayor holding up the sword before him all prayer-time. The King then viewed the church; and on another occasion he went to the Minster in state, when he was met at the west door by three Bishops; and after hearing a sermon by Dr. Richard Neile, the Bishop of Lincoln, he healed

fifty persons of the Evil ; and at St. Catherine's, on another day, when Chancellor Eland preached before the King, fifty-three persons were healed.

St. Catherine's Priory was situated west of the road at the foot of Cross Cliff Hill. Founded by Robert de Chesney in 1148, for Friars of the Order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, it had a long history in its career of exercising hospitality to the many illustrious visitors to Lincoln ; but not a trace of the building is now to be seen. It was here that the corpse of Queen Eleanor of Castile was brought to be embalmed after her death at Harby, seven miles south-west of Lincoln, in 1290. The viscera were buried in Lincoln Cathedral, the body was conveyed to Westminster.

The annals of Lincoln Castle embrace some of the most stirring scenes in English history. Two warriors take the Castle by surprise in 1140. These are two brothers, William of Pomara, afterwards Earl of Lincoln, and Ranulph Gernons, Earl of Chester, son-in-law of Robert of Gloucester, and the ex-Empress Maud's half-brother. This event sounds the key-note of the times. A battle called "The Joust of Lincoln" took place in 1141, on ground at the north-west of the Castle, when King Stephen was taken prisoner, and sent to Bristol.

On Bower Hill, William the Lion of Scotland did homage to King John for certain of his lands and titles. In Henry III's reign, on 19 May 1217, the Dauphin's troops were defeated by William Earl of Pembroke at the decisive battle known as "The Fair of Lincoln."

The southern boundary of the lower city was defended by a wall, through which were entries over two bridges crossing the Sincil Dyke, an arm of the Witham, by the Great Bar Gate and the Little Bar Gate. These were defended by round towers which have witnessed many a bloody conflict.

It appears in *Domesday Book* that William I gave to one Colesweyn a piece of waste land outside the city, on which he built thirty-six houses, and founded two churches. This part of the city was called Wickerford, from which the church of St. Mary at Wigford derives its name, while St. Peter-at-Gowts (*i.e.*, the Water-Courses) is so called from its situation. The two towers of these

churches show Saxon work of an early period, and the former has embedded in its wall a Roman commemorative slab with inscription, as well as a record in early characters of the first building of the city by Eirtig. The high bridge over the Witham retains its mediæval character by the houses upon it which still remain.

Proceeding up towards the higher city, a building called the Stone Bow and Guildhall run across the street, a record of the end of the fifteenth century or beginning of the sixteenth; and it was here that the southern gate of the Roman fort once stood.

The most notable of the many ancient houses which are seen, of all ages, in Lincoln, may be mentioned,—John of Gaunt's Palace, where he lived and married his last wife, Catherine Swynford, the mother of the Beauforts, progenitors of a long line of Lancastrian princes. Another building, popularly known as "John of Gaunt's Stables", is really the Hall confirmed by Henry II to the Guild of the Holy Trinity, a corporation which had the management of the mysteries and miracle-plays which became as celebrated here as were those of Sleaford and Coventry of historic renown. Two houses of stone, dating from Norman times, known as "The Jews' Houses", are valuable specimens of domestic architecture of the period, and one of their peculiarities is the massive stone chimney pile supported on the circular arch which forms the entrance-portal.

The three extra days after the official Congress afford material for a history of their own.

Thornton Abbey, founded by an Earl of Albemarle in the twelfth century, near the Humber, is surrounded by evidences of Roman occupation, and among the remains are some of our most beautiful mosaic pavements; Somerton Castle, where John, the captive King of France, was lodged, a prisoner of state, in Edward III's reign; Grantham Church, and the ancient Angel Inn from whence the proclamation of Richard III against Buckingham was made public; and lastly, Belvoir Castle, the seat of Mannors, Dukes of Rutland, were visited in the crowning three days. But this Vision may not extend so far.

It is time to revert to the Vision of Thurkill, post-

poned for a Vision of our late Congress. He is described as a rustic of Stisted, a village in Essex, three miles north-east of Braintree, who, when working in the fields, was honoured by a visit from St. Julian, the good harbourer, patron of hospitality, who promised to lead him in the spirit to St. James, and show him secret mysteries. This St. James proves to be St. James of Compostella; and the earlier St. Dominick is referred to, who died in 1109, and gave his name to the little town called after him, on one of the high roads to Compostella. The Mount of Joy at Compostella was crowned with the church of the Holy Cross, to which pilgrims ascended who flocked hither from all parts.

Boston was in the habit of fitting out its ship in summer, as well as other ports on our eastern coast, for conveying pilgrims to the shrine of St. Jago de Compostella, the capital of Galicia, in Spain. A pilgrimage thither was by one of the Popes made equivalent in merit to a voyage to Jerusalem. Our Richard I called (on his travels) at Galicia to punish evil-doers on the road, and after capturing the Castle of Chisy, where one Lord William lived who despoiled pilgrims to the shrine, the King caused the offender to be hanged on the spot. (Hoveden.) Our pilgrims, with their emblematic escallop-shells, had a land-journey of thirty-five miles before arriving at the shrine, and proceeded with an armed escort. The Knights of the military Order of St. Jago undertook to protect the pilgrims in this semblance of oriental perils and warfare.

The Vision is curiously suggestive of the state of the public mind in reference to pilgrimages. Thurkill is conducted eastward by St. Julian as far as the middle of the world, and after a series of adventures and description of scenes, both of Heaven and Hell, he reaches the Mount of Joy. The characters of the world are seen in a drama wherein are introduced the priest and the knight, the proud man, the backbiters, the dishonest miller, etc. The weighing of the souls, the saintly groups, and the fiends, are shown in their various occupations; and the transition from such visions as these into dramatic representations of mysteries and miracle-plays is easy to be realised.

In the preface to Thurkill's Vision other Visions are referred to, and one particularly which was seen at Eynsham in 1196, and was described by Adam, the Sub-Prior of Eynsham in Oxfordshire, who at the time he wrote was chaplain to St. Hugh of Lincoln, and who also has left in writing a Life of this saintly Bishop.

Mr. Ward identifies by charters the dreamer of the Vision as connected with living personages, lords of the manor of Stisted. One of them was Osbern de Longchamp, a brother of William Bishop of Ely, the famous Chancellor of Richard Cœur de Lion. He died in 1207, leaving a widow, Avelina, who is named in a grant of land at Stisted.¹

A greater degree of uncertainty as to dates and authorship hangs over the "cycle of ballads" which sing of Robin Hood and his companions, who are especially associated with Sherwood Forest in an adjacent county. Whether he was a real personage or only an embodiment in the popular mind of a distinguished noble of the times of the Angevin Henry II, or of his grandson Henry III, during the troubles of Simon de Montfort, or sprang from a later period, are questions which were amply discussed when our Association met at Newark in 1852, and as to which the articles in vol. viii of the *Journal*, by Messrs. J. M. Gutch, J. R. Planché, Llewellyn Jewett, and J. O. Halliwell, may be read with advantage. The written ballads which survive, like others of a similar nature, are supposed to have been founded upon songs or traditions of an earlier date which have perished. In any case we have no written document on the subject before the fourteenth century. The earliest is one edited by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne in his *Metrical Tales* (1829), and again edited and collated by Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., under the title of *Robin Hood and the Monk*. What is written concerning this hero by Fordun or his continuator is only found in a late MS. of that historian's work, and is supposed by Mr. Thomas Wright and Mr. Hunter to have been interpolated.

The *Lytell Geste* seems to be considered the best of the ballads which have survived, but the author of it is not

¹ See Preface to Rolls Ed. of Roger de Hoveden's *Chronicle*, vol. iii. 1870.

known with certainty. Hunter attributes it to *Richard Rolle*, an eremite residing at Hampole, four miles from Doncaster, who flourished in 1349; yet there are reasons why it should be of a later date, and the Hermit of Hampole, who wrote the *Prykke of Conscience*, is not the most likely man to have written the *Lytell Geste*. Mr. Charles Knight considered this ballad "one of the finest in the language, which for beauty and dramatic power is worthy of Chaucer himself, about whose time it was probably written." "This", he continues, "is more than can be said of the later ballads, when Friar Tuck and Maid Marian first crept into the forester's company."

The late Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, in summing up all the evidence, wonders there is no notice of Robin Hood by contemporary historians, and "had so notorious a person existed in the latter part of the thirteenth century he must unquestionably have been mentioned by Matthew Paris, Benedictus Abbas, or other writers."

We may restrict ourselves to the Cathedral Library collected by Dean Honeywood at Lincoln, to find some of the most interesting ballad-poems collected into one volume of manuscript, on paper, called the Thornton Collection.

Robert Thornton, a native of Yorkshire, who lived in about 1440, was not the author of these ballads, but only the scribe who copied them into a book, and has made a medley of history, romance, religion, and medicine, in the writings of anonymous authors.

The romances of Perceval, Isambrace, Eglamour, and Degravant, were edited by J. O. Halliwell for the Camden Society, 1844; the first two taken word for word from the Thornton MS., the last two from MSS. at Cambridge, the Thornton version of the same being imperfect. Mr. Halliwell has given a full description of the volume and its contents. It seems to have remained in the Thornton family till the close of the sixteenth century, as appears from several entries in different parts of the book. Out of the seventy-seven pieces, the following may be culled from this cyclopædia of mediæval language and literature as the most interesting to the modern reader:

1. Prose, without heading, *ad calcem*. "Here endez

the lyf of gret Alexander, conquerour of alle the worlde." Fo. 1.

4. "Here begynnes Morte Arthure." F. 53.

5. "Here bygynnes the romance off Octovyane." F. 98.

6. "Here bygynnes the romance off syr Ysambrace." F. 109.

7. "Here bygynnes the romance off Dyoclicyane the emperour and the erle Berade of Thoulous, and of the emprice Beaulilione." F. 114.

9. "Syr Degrevante." F. 130.

10. "Syr Eglamour of Artasse." F. 138.

13. "Tomas off Esseldowne." F. 149. This text is given by Sir Walter Scott as Thomas the Rhymer (Part I, *Border Minstrelsy*), who says it is agreed that Ercildoune, where the Rhymer lived, was a village on the Leader, two miles above its junction with the Tweed. Mr. Pinkerton considers he may have been alive as late as 1300. He was celebrated as a prophet and as a poet. The Eildon Tree, from beneath the shade of which he delivered his prophecies, no longer exists; but the spot is marked by a large stone called Eildon Tree Stone.

14. "Here bygynnes the Awnetyrs of Arthure at the Terne-Wathelyne." Fo. 154. This is the name of a small lake near Hesketh in Cumberland. The colophon to the MS. is thus:

"This ferly by felle, full sothely to say,
In Yngilwood fforeste at the Tern Wathelyne."

Englewood, or the English Wood, was an extensive forest in Cumberland, sixteen miles in length, and reached from Penrith to Carlisle. The numerous forests with which England was covered tended to keep alive that spirit of the marvellous or supernatural which had attached to them since the early Romans.

15. "Here bygynnes the Romance of Syr Perecyvelle of Gales." Fo. 161.

35. "A tale that Richerde Hermet (made)." Fo. 193.

36. "A prayere that the same Richerd Hermet made that es beried at Hampulle." F. 193. There are several others of his compositions. He has been referred to before as the author of the *Prykke of Conscience*.

77. A curious collection of medical receipts (f. 280), one being a cure for "werke and vanytee in the hede."

These few specimens, adverted to by name, will be enough to bring to your notice the early English literature, a matter of the deepest interest when we consider the part it played as the great storehouse of letters in after ages, even down to our own time.

The best criticism on the follies and inconsistencies of European chivalric literature is still that of Cervantes in his immortal work, *Don Quixote*; particularly in that scene where the priest, the barber, the housekeeper, and the niece, invade the library of the gallant knight in his absence, to be revenged on the books which they thought had deranged his brain. The housekeeper took the precaution to arm herself with a stoup of holy water, to keep off the enchanters; the niece was for making short work of the books by throwing them, in bulk, out of the window into the courtyard, and then lighting up a bonfire to burn them; but the priest thought it desirable to have a scrutiny of the works in the mean time; and after dwelling upon several, the barber, taking down another book, said, "This is the *Mirror of Chivalry*; here the *Twelve Peers* in the faithful historiographer, Turpin."

"Well," said the priest, "I am only for condemning them to perpetual banishment, and let *Palmerin of England* be preserved. Here we have *Kurieleison of Mont-alvan*. Verily, neighbour, in its way it is the best book in the world. Here the knights eat and sleep and die in their beds, and make their wills before death, with several things which are not to be found in any other book of this kind."

They exempted also from the flames *The Castle of Miraguarda* and *Amadis de Gaul*; but tired of looking over so many books, their labours were shortened by sending some out of the window, eight at a time, and all the folios and a heap of poems were treated as unceremoniously. We see that the priest made a distinction between the historiographer and the writers of chivalric rhapsodies,—a distinction to which attention was drawn at the beginning of this essay.

I have ventured to introduce as the heading of this my Vision, "The Rose of Provence and the Lilies of France", based upon an account of the "Badges of the House of Lancaster", by our late Associate, Mr. J. R. Planché,

Somerset Herald, in *Journal*, vol. vi, p. 374, in which he traces the Rose of Provence (heraldically red) to be the cognizance of the Lancastrian Beauforts and Somersets, from Blanche of Lancaster and Eleanor, Queen of Henry III, from whom they claimed descent and the succession to Provence, etc. The plucking of the roses in the Temple Garden may either have been based by Shakespeare upon a real tradition, or invented by him; but in any case the assumption of the emblem was no denial of its first origin. The lilies of France and of St. Louis are properly associated with the cathedral church of Lincoln, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary; and one fleur-de-lis has kept its place on a chief in the shield of the city of Lincoln, as seen carved on the famous Stone Bow.

The union of the two roses may be noticed on the signet-seal of the town of Richmond, Yorkshire, whereon is a double rose. The following verses were, according to Clarkson (*Hist. of Richm.*, p. 111), composed by James Metcalfe, Recorder of Richmond:—

“Nostra nec albescit rubicunda, nec alba rubescit
Facta sed ex gemino nostra colore rosa est.”

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, OXFORD.

BY HARRY DRINKWATER, ESQ.

(*Read at Oxford, 10 July, 1890.*)

THIS church adjoined the North Gate of the city, and is said to have belonged to the Canons of St. Frideswide in Saxon times ; but if so, it was lost during the struggles between the regular and secular clergy by which that society was distracted about the period of the Norman conquest. It was restored to them by King Henry I in the year 1122, with several other churches.

About the year 1205 William Bloys, Bishop of Lincoln, took away all the parochial cure relying on the Canons, instituted a vicarage, and appointed, from the church, an annual pension of five marks to be paid to them. This decree was confirmed to them by Pope Innocent III in the seventeenth year of his pontificate (1214), and afterwards by other Popes. So it remained until 1429, when Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, who was then founding his College of Lincoln, caused it, together with St. Mildred's, to be united to All Saints' Church, which was made a collegiate parish church by the foundation of Lincoln College adjoining. This was afterwards confirmed by the charters of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln in 1434, and by Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1439.¹

In the present fabric may be seen several different periods of construction, and nearly all of considerable antiquity. The most ancient part is the tower ; but whether this is of Saxon origin, or whether it was built by Robert de Oilli (who was appointed Governor of the city soon after the Norman conquest), there is no documentary evidence to prove. From the curious columns which divide the windows of the belfry, and the long and short quoins, it would seem to be Saxon ; and if so, it was probably raised by Robert de Oilli to assist in the

¹ Wood's *City of Oxford*.

defence of the North Gate, which would account for his name being associated with it.

Nothing now remains to show what was the extent of the original church, but in the thirteenth century the chancel was added. This was rebuilt in 1855.

In the year 1240 or 1260, Dionysia Burewald, a rich widow, living in the parish in the reign of Henry III, built a chapel on the south side. This is probably the eastern portion of the present south aisle. It was dedicated to the memory of St. Mary the Virgin, and had therein a chantry instituted by her, and also a priest therein to perform divine service for her and the souls of her relations. Another chantry appears to have been founded either by her or by another of the same name.

In 1342 a chantry was added by John Odyham, a rich burgess of Oxford, who founded a revenue for the maintenance of one or two priests for him and all his relations' souls. This is probably the western portion of the south aisle. There is a small piscina remaining here. The nave appears to have been rebuilt late in the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century.

John Archer, another rich burgess of Oxford, who died in 1524, also gave lands for building a chapel. This appears to have been opposite to that of Odyham, and probably now forms part of the north aisle, which was rebuilt in 1833.

The Lady Chapel, on the north side of the chancel, appears to be also of the thirteenth century, although the windows and niches at the east end indicate that it has been considerably altered : indeed, some repairs and additions seem to have been made about the time of Richard II, whose bust, with that of Isabella his Queen, form the terminations of the label on the outside. Near the niches is a plain piscina of earlier date.

There are a few remains of fifteenth century glass in the tracery of one of the windows in the north aisle, and in the south window of the chancel, which contains the figures of St. Mary the Virgin, St. Michael, St. Nicholas, and St. Edmund.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, IFFLEY.

BY HARRY DRINKWATER, ESQ.

(Oxford Congress, 1890.)

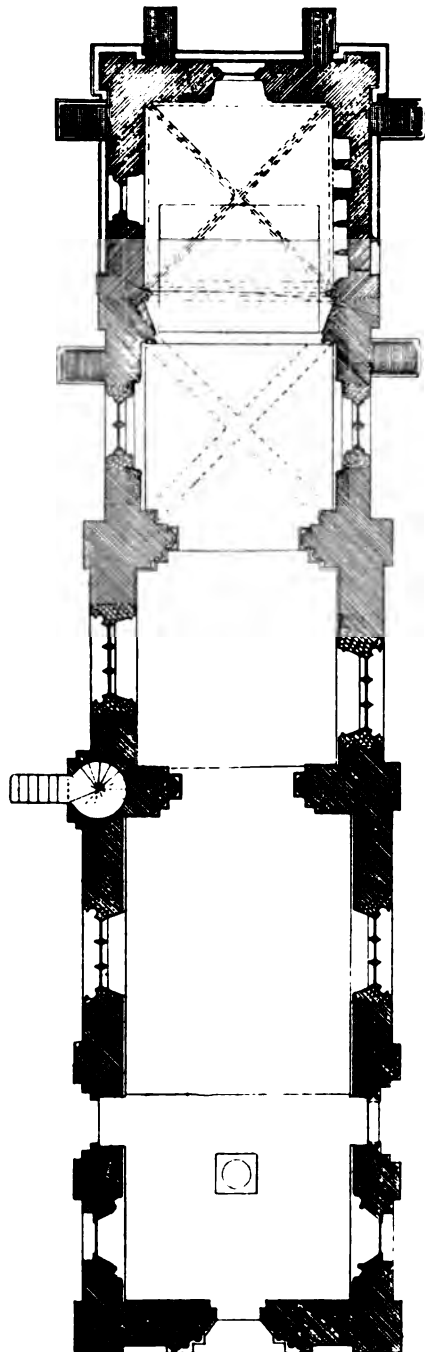
THE Rev. Edward Marshall, in his history of this parish, gives eighty different forms in which the name of Iffley is written, the earliest form being "Giffleleia", which occurs in the Chronicles of Abingdon Abbey between the years 941-46.

The builder of the church is not known with any certainty. Wharton, in his *History of Kiddington*, stated, but without giving any authority, that it was built early in the twelfth century by a Bishop of Lincoln, in which diocese Iffley was then situated; and it has been thought that in this case the Bishop intended is probably Bishop Cheyney, who held the see from 1147-66. In a charter of the Abbey of Kenilworth, about the year 1180, Henry de Clinton, grandson of Geoffrey de Clinton, who founded the Abbey of Kenilworth, confirms the gift of Juliana de St. Remigio of the church of "Yftele", and one virgate of land at "Covele", with all appurtenances. Unfortunately the date of her death is not known, and we must therefore fall back upon the architectural features in assigning a date to Iffley Church. From them, however, there is little doubt that it was built during the latter half of the twelfth century, probably between 1160 and 1170.

The portions still standing, of this date, extend from the west end to the first bay of the chancel. In the thirteenth century the eastern bay of the chancel was added, probably by Robert de Efteley, who became Prior of Kenilworth in 1266; but if so, it was done before he held the office, as the work is of earlier date. Next we have the two early Decorated windows inserted in the first bay of the chancel about the end of the thirteenth century; after these the two Perpendicular windows under the tower; and then, somewhat later, the two Perpendicular windows in the eastern bay of the nave. The

S. MARY'S CHURCH IPFLEY.

- NORMAN 1170-80
- EARLY ENGLISH
- Decorated
- PERPENDICULAR
- MODERN

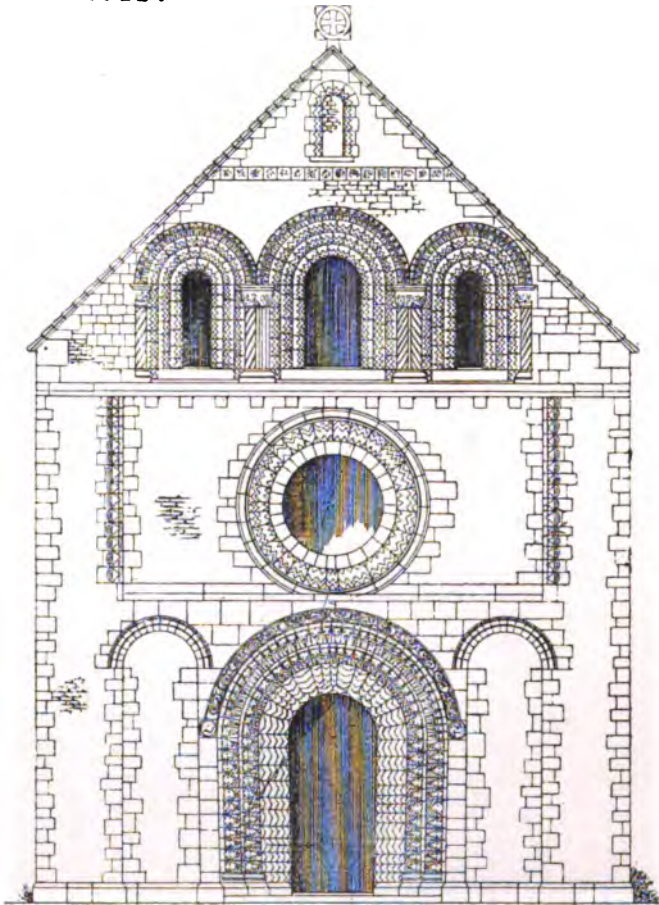


PLAN.

Scale of Feet

Wm. H. St. John
1880

S. MARY'S CHURCH
IFFLEY



WEST ELEVATION.

Scale of Feet

Henry Woodhouse Esq.
Aug 1890

parapet of the tower was added about this time, and that on the south side of the nave is dated 1612.

It will thus be seen that in this small village church we are able to see characteristic features of each succeeding style from Norman to late Perpendicular. A reference to the plan will show that the church may be described as a parallelogram, 104 ft. long, and 20 ft. wide. The western bay of the chancel has its original stone vaulting, with heavy ribs moulded with the zigzag ornament. Whether this was the original east end of the church, or whether it was terminated by an apse, is a vexed question. Personally I incline to the square east end, as at Stewkeley in Buckinghamshire; a very similar church, which, curiously enough, also belonged to the Priory of Kenilworth.

The western front of the church is highly ornamented, the doorway being deeply recessed, with richly carved mouldings of the chevron and beak-heads, which are carried round the arch. The circular window was restored some few years since, and fortunately there was enough remaining to enable the architect to restore it with some degree of certainty.

Both the north and south doorways are in their original state; the latter being a particularly fine example of the style, and it is much to be regretted that it has been blocked up internally by a modern organ. The tower-arches are large and fine, and spring from cushioned capitals, with black marble shafts in the four angles facing towards the west.

The font is square, of black marble, supported by a circular stone pillar with four smaller ones at the angles; three of them are twisted.

In the churchyard is a fine yew-tree, popularly said to be as old as the church; and a cross, the upper portion of which was restored in 1857.

Note.—For the early history of the church I am indebted to the Rev. Edward Marshall's *History of Iffley*, and to a description of the church given by Mr. James Parker to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society in 1870.

MR. HENRY DURDEN'S LOCAL COLLECTION
AT BLANDFORD, DORSET.

BY GEORGE PAYNE, ESQ., F.S.A.

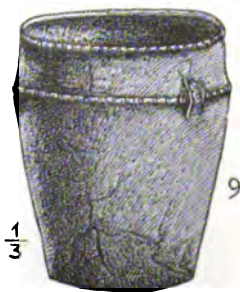
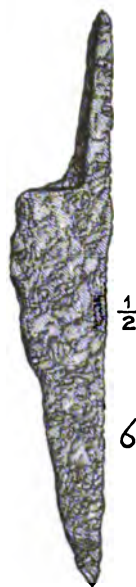
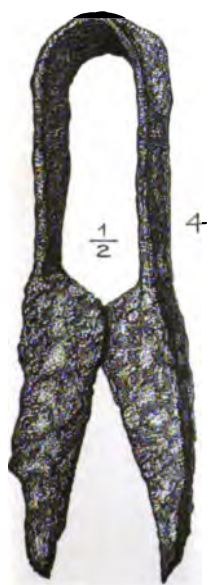
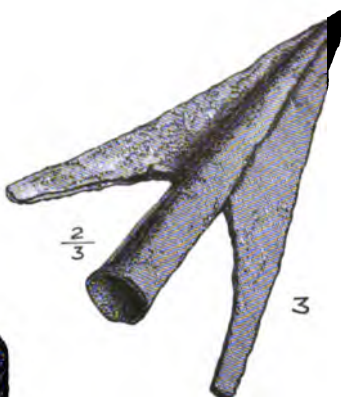
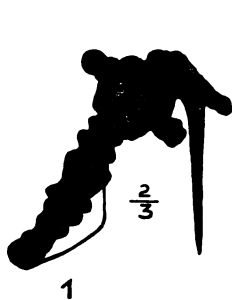
(Read 7th Jan. 1891.)

AT the request of Mr. Durden I recently visited his private museum for the purpose of preparing for publication a catalogue of its contents. I was so impressed with the extent and value of the collection, and more especially with the fact that it was but little known outside the county in which it was gathered together, that it seemed to me worthy of being recorded in the *Journal* of the Association.

The collection comprises remains of the British, Roman, and Mediæval periods, most of which were discovered within the immediate vicinity of Blandford; likewise an interesting series of Anglo-Saxon objects from graves found on Wye and Crundale Downs, in Kent.

The British section includes about one hundred and fifty weapons and implements of flint and stone, of palæolithic and neolithic ages, mainly consisting of celts, hammers, and a few arrow-heads. Among the palæolithic implements are many specimens of the rudest type which must have been used by the earliest settlers in that part of Britain. They command special notice as they compare very favourably with those recently discovered by Mr. Harrison near Sevenoaks, in Kent, which are now attracting the attention of archæologists. The Dorset implements are remarkable for the thickness and whiteness of the enamel with which they are coated, showing long exposure to weather. They were found mainly upon the surface, at Durweston, Stourpaine, Charlton Down, and Hod Hill.

Between the years 1844 and 1850 Mr. Durden opened several barrows on Roke Down, near Bere Regis, Shapwick, Bere Regis Down, Bloxworth Down, etc., whence he obtained upwards of fifty-five cinerary urns ranging



from 10 to 22 ins. in height. They are of the shape common to pre-Roman pottery, of coarse material, and brown, red, and black in colour. Some of the urns were cracked before they were filled with the calcined bones, as holes have been drilled on each side of the fracture, so that a cord could be passed through to bind the damaged parts together. From Mr. Durden's notes it appears that most of the urns were placed in the barrows in an inverted position, their mouths being plugged with clay.

Among the bronze objects are three very fine swords : one found in a barrow at Shapwick, one from Cranborne, and a third from Gussage, near Cranborne. They are about 23 ins. in length. There are several paalstaves, socketed celts, and spear-heads ; also five torques, each measuring about 20 ins. in length, the last named being found at Tarrant Monckton.

The Romano-British period is illustrated in the collection by upwards of one thousand specimens, six hundred of which were discovered in and around the earthworks known as Hod Hill, near Blandford. In the sixth volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua* Mr. C. Roach Smith published an account of the Hod Hill discoveries, accompanied by engravings of the principal objects found. They comprised swords, spear and arrow-heads, daggers, knives, axes, and a great variety of agricultural implements and carpenters' tools. The fibulæ, which are very numerous, are both harp-shaped and circular ; while other ornaments consist of pendants, finger-rings, cloak-pins, buckles, and châtelaine requisites.

It is unnecessary to describe the camp on Hod Hill, as it has been fully treated of in Hutchins' *Dorsetshire*, Warne's *Ancient Dorset*, and the work already referred to. Suffice it to say that it was a Celtic camp, afterwards occupied and improved by the Romans. It is situated 600 ft. above the river Stour, being defended by double ramparts and ditches. The camps on Hamildon Hill and at Spettisbury have likewise furnished Mr. Durden's museum with similar remains to those just enumerated. The discoveries at Spettisbury are a continuation of those made by Mr. Akerman in 1857, and published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. iv.

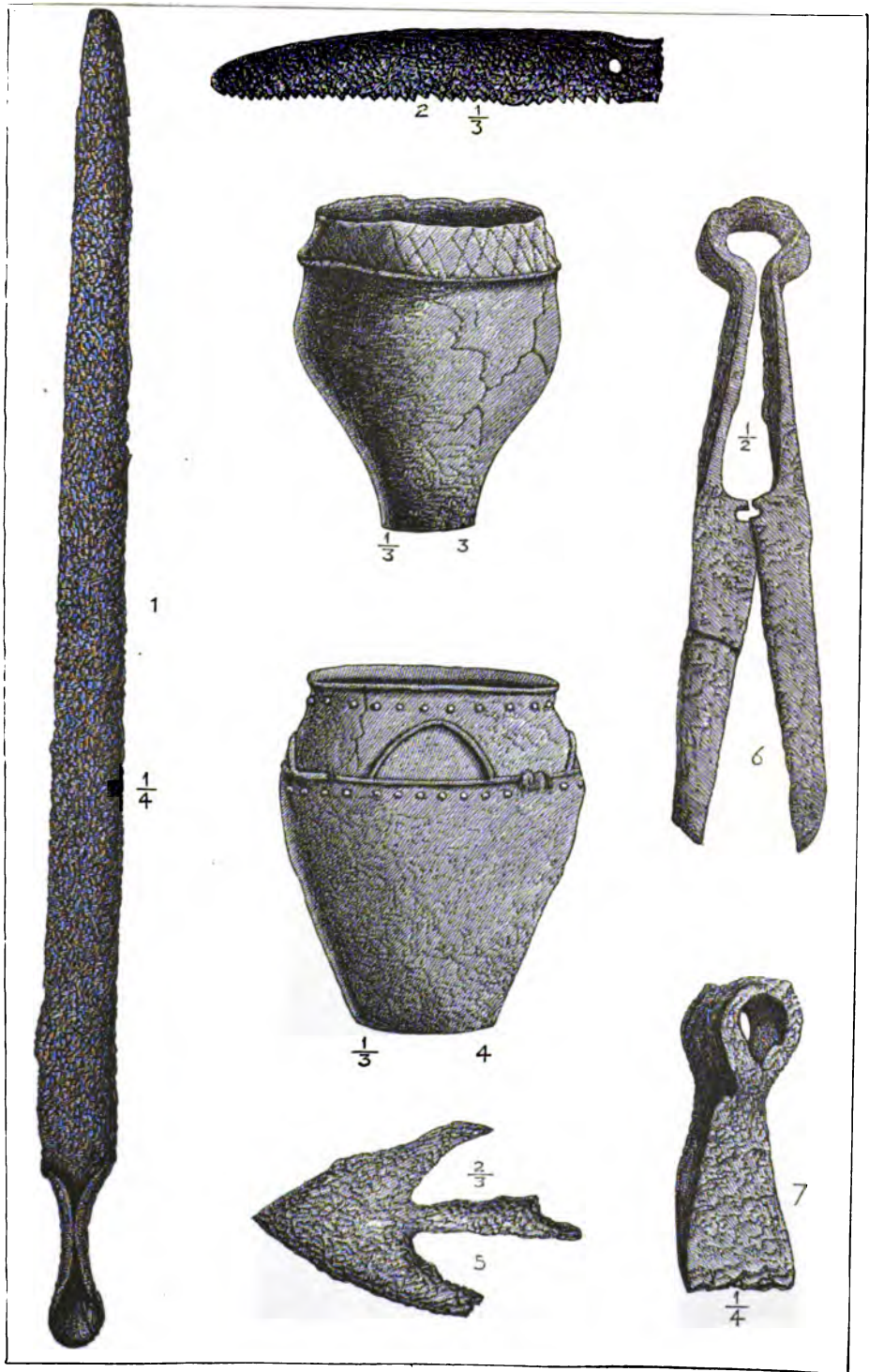
The Durden Museum contains several articles of Kimmeridge coal, most of which are waste pieces from the turner's lathe. There are, however, a few rings and amulets; and one block of this peculiar shale has carved upon it the rude figure of a lion. It was found on the floor of a Roman villa at Jordan's Hill, Preston by Weymouth. Other remains from the same locality may be seen in the collection, also various examples of fictile ware from the New Forest.

As before stated, the Anglo-Saxon period is illustrated by articles found in graves opened, in 1858, on Wye and Crundale Downs in Kent. They consist of gold pendants, finger-rings, buckles, beads, pins, and a few objects in iron.

Special attention must be drawn to two elegant specimens,—one a circular fibula, the other a jewelled buckle, both found in the same grave at Crundale. The buckle is of bronze, the long, triangular portion being plated with gold. At the hinge end is a large gilt boss, from which runs a fish of bronze striped with diagonal gold bars. The eye-sockets were originally set with stones, which are now missing. Down the sides of the buckle-plate are strips of gold chased with filigree-work; and in line with the fish's head, on either side, are two gilt bosses, and beyond these is a pair of garnets. A shield-plate at the base of the buckle's tongue is richly set with sliced ovals of garnets. The sides of the buckle were also originally ornamented with two garnets, or some other stone, in line with the hinge.

The fibula is wholly of bronze. It is a thin, circular plate of metal, 3 ins. in diameter, with a circular piece cut out of the centre. Attached to the inner edge of that centre is a ring-fibula which has upon the base of the pin a dove sitting. Where the point of the pin would come when fixed to the attire, two other doves are seated; that is, they are riveted through the broad band of bronze, and could be twisted round at the pleasure of the wearer. The idea which the artificer intended to convey was, perhaps, that the doves were guardians of the fastening of the brooch. The surface of the broad, outer band is decorated with intricate scroll-tracery peculiar to Anglo-Saxon jewellery.

One other interesting brooch is in the form of a raven-



like bird, the eye-hole having been drilled through, and then set with a yellow topaz.

The mediæval relics in the collection comprise gold finger-rings, seals in bronze, gipicierre suspenders, keys, spurs, etc. The cabinet of coins contains a large number of British and Roman in gold, silver, and bronze. The former are all rudely executed, and of early date, while the latter comprise coins of Augustus, Agrippa, Tiberius, Germanicus, Nero, Caligula, Claudian, Trajan, etc.

It is very gratifying to me to be enabled to state that the owner of this fine local collection has made arrangements that it shall ultimately be preserved in its integrity, and, let us hope, in the locality in which the contents were discovered. Whatever may be its final destination, it will always remain a noble monument of Mr. Durden's high-minded liberality and painstaking research.

British Archaeological Association.

FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, OXFORD, 1890,

MONDAY, JULY 7TH, TO SATURDAY THE 12TH JULY, WITH THREE
EXTRA DAYS TO WEDNESDAY THE 16TH JULY.

PATRONS.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.
THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF JERSEY, LORD LIEUTENANT
OF THE COUNTY, AND LORD HIGH STEWARD OF
THE CITY OF OXFORD.

ACTING PRESIDENT.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND
NOTTINGHAM.

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THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.
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THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
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THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE.
THE EARL NELSON, D.L.
THE VISCOUNT VALENTIA.
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THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP
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SIR JOHN STAINER
THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CHRIST
CHURCH.
THE HON. G. C. BRODRICK, WARDEN
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THE PRESIDENT OF MAGDALEN COL-
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THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF
ABINGDON.
THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF
BANBURY.

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF
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H. HURST, Esq., B.A., 6 Tackley Place.

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Hon. Curator, Librarian, and Congress Secretary—**G. B. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.**

Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, 7TH JULY 1890.

THE Congress of the British Archæological Association opened at Oxford this day. The members and visitors, at half-past one o'clock, were received in the Council Chamber by the Mayor (Alderman Hughes) and the Corporation. Amongst those present were the Vice-Chancellor, the President of St. John's; the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, past President of the Association at Lincoln, who kindly undertook to deliver the Presidential Address, which was to have been given by the Earl of Carnarvon; the Warden of Merton; Mr. Sheriff Grubb; Aldermen Carr, H. Underhill, and Deazeley; Councillors G. Wootten, Downing, Taphouse, G. H. Cooper, Carver, Kempson, Lucas, Fisher, C. Underhill, Adamson; the Town Clerk, Mr. J. J. Bickerton; the Rev. O. Oglo; the Rev. Canon Freeling; Mr. W. H. White, City Engineer; Mr. E. G. Bruton, F.S.A.; Major Ind; Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*; Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*; Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A.; Mr. A. J. Butler, F.S.A.; Mr. H. W. Drinkwater, F.R.I.B.A.; Mr. J. S. Phené, F.S.A.; Mr. A. H. Evans, F.S.A.; Mr. J. W. W. Glasson, and Mr. H. Hurst, *Hon. Local Secretaries*, etc.

The Mayor said they all regretted the sad event that had deprived them of the Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, whose death must be a great loss to that Association and to the country; but they had been fortunate in being able to fall back on their late President to fill his place. He begged, on behalf of the Corporation and the citizens, to wish them a very hearty welcome to this ancient city. He hoped the weather would be such as would enable them to take their excursions with pleasure, and that they would be much interested in all that would be pointed out to them. He would now introduce to them the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, who would address them.

The Earl of Winchilsea said his first duty was to offer his warm thanks, on behalf of the Association, to the Mayor for the very kind and appreciative welcome he had offered them to the ancient city of

Oxford, and to the Vice-Chancellor for welcoming them by his presence. They, as archæologists, were aware that there was a very ancient and at the same time very internecine strife between the two authorities which they represented; and he was glad that their presence there that day was an assurance that that strife was ended, or survived only in the form of a generous emulation for the good of the citizens, and the protection or careful restoration of those ancient monuments which were equally the glory of the city and the University.

His second duty was to thank the Mayor for the kind words of sympathy which he had addressed to them on the lamentable death of the honoured statesman whose place he so unworthily filled that day. The late Earl of Carnarvon was the President of the Association and High Steward of the University of Oxford, and in both these capacities all present would greatly deplore his loss. The Mayor had truly said that his loss was a greater one than that, namely to the British empire. Lord Carnarvon began life with honourable industry. When he first entered the University he devoted himself to work and literary effort; he engaged in hard and studious work, with the result that the examiners placed him in the First Class when he took his Degree. Those were the men whom the University delighted to honour, and accordingly they were not surprised to find that his University gave him the high and honourable office of High Steward in the year 1859, and he had maintained that connection with it to the time of his death. But the achievement by which he would be best known to posterity was the Act for the Confederation of the North American Colonies, which gave us the united Dominion of Canada. That was in 1867, and it was, as many believed, and as he thought, only the first stepping-stone laid across the ocean, as it were, of that great bridge which was to connect all parts of Her Majesty's dominions into one great Imperial Federation. If he might point to another thing which he thought would keep the memory of Lord Carnarvon green to posterity, it was this, that he possessed in a rare degree a combination of qualities all excellent in themselves, and of a high order. In a day when party politics ran so high as often to disturb the judgment, and even to interfere with moral rectitude, he was able to pursue the unerring rectitude of his way by the light of his conscience. In an age when the requirements of modern business interfered much with those personal friendships which used to be commoner than they are now, he probably, to a degree unequalled among his contemporaries, was able to retain the personal affection of his own friends. At a time when the relations between capital and labour were strained, when the respect which used to be accorded to rank was now either grudgingly given, or was reserved

for those whose personal merits appeared to deserve it, Lord Carnarvon was able to keep the personal affection of his tenants; and he was able to combine all these great duties with a most studious and scrupulous regard to religious principle. Those were the men of whom this country might well be proud; and he was one of the greatest ornaments of the House of Lords; and he (Lord Winchilsea) felt that so long as men of that kind were to be found within the walls of that Chamber, the country would give grave consideration to the existence of that House, and would feel that probably its members were not quite so useless as in many quarters they were represented to be. They would not be surprised, considering the short notice which he had had (even if he were able, with a very long notice, to do so (if he did not attempt to give them an eloquent and stirring address such as would have been given them by their late President on that occasion. Thirty years ago he was told, when President of the Association, Lord Carnarvon delivered an address which was still fresh in the memories of those who heard it. He would not attempt to follow in his footsteps; but still, as they had not deemed him unworthy to fill that position, and as he had the pleasure of passing four eventful years of his life in this University, during which it was impossible not to learn something with regard to the points of architectural interest in this ancient city; it would be doing less than his duty if he did not offer them one or two considerations as an Archæological Association.

In the Bodleian Library they would find probably no more interesting a collection of charters than those which were bequeathed to it by an ancestor of his own, which were called the Hatton MSS. If he might go farther, he would say that he remembered one point in his career at Oxford, when he became, almost unknown to himself, an ardent student of archæology. He was suddenly seized with an extraordinary interest in the ruins of a most interesting place called Stanton Harcourt, and he explored them with a fair guide, who afterwards became his wife. They would find there a kitchen built about the year 1190, and it was, he believed, one of the most interesting old kitchens in England; and the place had been in the family of the Harcourts from about 1100. This old kitchen of the twelfth century was very well worth being looked at, and it remained as perfect now as it was the day it was built, and it stood alone with Glastonbury. Then there was the chapel, and over it were some chambers, the uppermost of which was called "Pope's Study", and was the room in which he finished the translation of the fifth Book of Homer in 1718.

The church was a very ancient and interesting example of different styles of architecture; some people said from Saxon, or at any rate

Norman times. He said some people said from Saxon times, because he was told one rather ingenious theory (to which he gave, perhaps, more weight than it deserved, in consideration of the source from which he heard it), that a series of stones called "The Devil's Quoits" were used by the Saxons (those which did not appear in their position on the hill, and which were supposed to commemorate a great battle fought between the Britons and Saxons in the year 614) to build part of the porch of Stanton Harcourt Church. That they would see for themselves.

With regard to the ancient history of Oxford, he believed there were few traces of it in Roman times; but when they got to Saxon times it was a city of first rate importance, because of its being the frontier-town of Mercia, and commanding the only gravel fords which were to be found along the course of the river, as well as communication to the south by the river Thames. Therefore they were not surprised to find that it was a town of very considerable importance in Saxon times; and, in fact, from Reading all the way to Eynsham, and above it, he believed more battles were fought than, perhaps, on any other area of equal size in the United Kingdom; and the sites of battlefields, so melancholy from one point of view, were fertile in archæological results.

With regard to Oxford itself, as the ancient glories of the town were connected with its being the frontier-town of the kingdom of Mercia; now that there was a chance of the ancient divisions of the kingdom being restored, there was no reason why, if they got "Home Rule", Oxford should not again become a capital, and its ancient splendours be entirely revived.

To pass on to Norman times, they found that Robert de Oilli built the castle and St. Michael's Tower. The latter was built partly as the tower of St. Michael's Church, but formed part also of the great north wall of the town. Oxford, in the Norman period, was frequently visited by the Kings of England, but the old Norman keep was all that remained of the castle in which they were entertained; yet they could picture to themselves that wintry night in 1142, when the Empress Maud with her maidens (clad in their nightgowns) made their escape successfully from the walls, over the snow, and eluded Stephen, who was besieging the castle at the time.

The history of the middle ages, so far as Oxford was concerned, was mainly the history of the struggle, to which he had alluded, between the University and the city. The University eventually got so much the best of the struggle that up to comparatively modern times many of the liberties of the city remained in its hands; but at the present moment an arrangement had been effected, equally he believed for the benefit and satisfaction of both parties, and the consequence happily was that they were able to unite their energies for the common weal.

Oxford had been the seat of many Parliaments, and into the history of those, of course, it was unnecessary for him to enter; but he thought it would be useful if they tried to picture to themselves, as far as they might, what mediæval Oxford was like, how it was surrounded, and what its boundaries were. The northern boundary of it was the city wall, which stretched from the gate (which had vanished) at St. Michael's Tower, eastward along the great ditch which was to the north of it, and the site of which was now occupied by Broad Street. He need not remind them, although he believed the exact spot was in dispute, that in this ditch, somewhere opposite Balliol College, the three martyred Bishops found their fate,—an event commemorated by the Martyrs' Memorial, erected not far from the site on which their martyrdom took place. The Colleges of Balliol, St. John's, Trinity, Wadham, and Keble, and Holywell Street, and everything to the north of Holywell, were outside the precincts of the old city. The old wall continued to New College, in the gardens of which they would find it in an excellent state of preservation, resulting, he believed, from an agreement between New College and the city for the perpetual maintenance of that part of the walls. He thought they would all wish that a similar agreement had been entered into with other Colleges, because the walls were an object of peculiar interest and beauty. Passing to the eastward, the wall turned round in such a way that Magdalen (which now occupied the old site of the Hospital of St. John, which stood there in 1283) was outside it; and there was a gate, where possibly High Street now passed, somewhat to the west of Magdalen School. The course of the wall, if he might so express it, was uneventful along the southern part of it, inasmuch as it was not necessary to protect it there by many flanking towers, the river and the marshes in that direction being considered sufficient protection. It continued its course to South Gate, the site of which was near the point at which Pembroke College impinges on the street; and going farther round, they came to the West Gate, a small postern connected with the Castle, and defending the western approach to the town. Therefore the simple form of the city was a quadrilateral, and he thought they were able, by drawing a mental diagram, to give themselves a very fair conception of what were the boundaries of the old city.

Then with regard to the periods of its architecture, from the time when the city could boast of a castle and important buildings down to the present time, he would give them one or two suggestions. First, from the Conquest down to the twelfth century, the most important buildings, he thought, were—the Castle, which was built in 1074 by Robert de Oilli; the tower of St. Michael's, built about the same time; and then, in later Norman, the Church of St. Frideswide and

Osney Abbey, both of which unfortunately disappeared when Henry VIII fixed on the site of the Cathedral, and connected it with Christ Church. The bells of Osney Abbey were brought to Christ Church, including the great one which hung in Tom Tower.

Lovers of bell-ringing (of whom he might state himself to be one) were much interested in Oxford for this reason, that it contained so many peals of excellent bells; and the art of bell-ringing flourished in two places, London and Oxford, more than in any others. There were four towers which contained peals of ten bells each, Magdalen, New, Merton, and Christ Church; and he had very good reason to know that Christ Church contained ten bells, because on the occasion of the marriage of the eldest daughter of the present Dean of Christ Church he rang the tenor, weighing 42 cwt., for about an hour with his own hands.

When they came to the thirteenth century, Colleges began to be founded; but he would ask them to bear in mind that it did not follow that because a college was founded at a certain date, the buildings they now saw, or any of them, were referable to that date. He believed Merton was the only College which could really boast of buildings which would give them some idea of what they were at the time of the foundation, and there were no more interesting buildings in Oxford than those. To the same date were referable Balliol and University Colleges; and about a hundred years later New College was founded, in 1384, by William of Wykeham. They would notice the unique and beautiful spire of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, built about the year 1300; and the tower of New College was interesting from its simplicity, and its being like St. Michael's tower. Among the buildings of the next century he thought, *facile princeps*, they should place Magdalen College, which was founded by William of Waynflete; but the tower was not finished until 1505. On one occasion he was shown some plans, made in 1736, by which it was proposed entirely to pull down and remove the present beautiful quadrangle and cloisters, which were to be rebuilt like the quadrangle at the back; and nothing prevented this being done but want of money,—one of the few occasions on which such a want must be pronounced an unmixed blessing.

He thought he had brought down the archæological history of Oxford (very imperfectly he confessed) to the time when they might almost leave it, because the history of the last century at Oxford was anything but pleasing to archæologists; but at the present moment an admirable spirit pervaded both city and University with regard to the retention of all the archæological characteristics which could be met with in the interesting buildings here. The modern work that had been done in Oxford (and a great deal had been done during and since

his time, fifteen years ago) bore witness to great thought,—he would not say to originality, because that was much to be deprecated,—to a real and true humility, and desire to follow the best and most ancient models which they had in profusion before them here, and do nothing which was out of harmony with those great originals. Of course the use of a Society like that was to encourage and promote the preservation of these old monuments, and to direct the attention of those whose notice it might otherwise escape to many of the beauties which otherwise might pass away. In Oxford, he was thankful to acknowledge, this was not so necessary as it might otherwise be, because the city and University had taken this matter into their own very safe keeping; but in the excursions which they would make into various parts of the country, they must remember that very often the country clergy were the only, although not the self-constituted, guardians of the monuments which were to be found in their ancient churches. They, therefore, needed the moral support of the Association; and it was a great advantage, he thought, that they should periodically inspect these churches, because, although they remained with the clergy, naturally in the course of time there was change, and a very good and careful rector might be replaced by a very careless man, archæologically speaking; and therefore their visits were of the greatest use,—visits to churches like Iffley, Dorchester, and Stanton Harcourt, which it would be an irreparable loss if anything were to happen to; and ought to encourage all the appointed custodians to hand them down to future generations in as good or even better condition than they had received them.

It appeared to him that the study of archæology, as carried on in this ancient city, was one of the most interesting it was possible to imagine. They might ask, Why this interest? He thought it was a very difficult question to answer. Was it because, when they found these ancient monuments they were glad, as members of a fleeting race, to see that something which their predecessors had done had been able to survive the action of time? Or was it because, whether they willed it or not, they must acknowledge that nature did not now yield up her secrets as she had done to a past age? If it were so, then of course their labours had a more serious aspect; because if it were so (and he believed it was), then, although all these old monuments appeared to be in a fair state of preservation for the enjoyment of this generation, no efforts they could possibly make were too great in order to secure them for the instruction of all future generations, inasmuch as in their decay would perish priceless beauties of form, of outline, and of proportion; matchless examples which a fidelity to nature, and a depth and vividness of artistic feeling now perhaps impossible, combine to render unique; and which our own age, while it had happily regained

the faculty of appreciating their surprising excellence, had lost the power to reproduce. Here, in Oxford, he thought there was special reason for acknowledging the aptitude, and even, he would say, the necessity of this continued effort, because they could not imagine any place where such subjects ought to be studied, and carefully studied too, if not in one devoted to the education of the youth of the country. The education which people now received was taking a more and more practical turn, and this was necessary in order to fit them to deal with the pressing problems of life, and therefore it would hardly be possible to introduce a regular course of archæology. During the four years that students were at the University they were engaged in other studies; but the fact that during their residence here they were constantly, if insensibly, influenced by so much that was beautiful and noble alike in its conception and its execution, was one, the educational value of which he had no doubt the instructors of the youth in this University were fully alive to.

He thanked them very much for the manner in which they had received the imperfect remarks which he had addressed to them, and also the city and University for the welcome which they had extended to the Association, and he felt sure that those bodies were engaged in a good work in the preservation of these ancient buildings, which were second in beauty and interest to none in this kingdom. He had much pleasure in declaring the Congress open.

The Vice-Chancellor said archæology was a subject, he was sorry to say, that he was very little acquainted with; but their President had well said that a man could not live here even four years (much more when he came to be over fifty in it) without being in some way imbued not merely with some knowledge of it, but love for it. He also might say that he had the advantage of having seen all the churches and buildings within reach of Oxford; and when railroads began, he had other opportunities of going into the country. He was sorry to say that he believed the generation of the time he spoke of was a careless one. Their President had mentioned the stir there was as to demolishing part of Magdalen, and he had heard something of the same sort with regard to Merton, in the destruction of some old buildings, which was fortunately prevented. He could conscientiously say that there was scarcely a new building put up in Oxford, with whatever great care it might have been designed and executed, that he did not cordially dislike. His business on that occasion was to propose a vote of thanks to their President, who had come there, he believed, at some inconvenience to open that Congress, for the very interesting address he had given them; and he hoped the members would derive all the pleasure they anticipated from their visit to Oxford.

The Sheriff seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried by acclamation.

The President said he was very much obliged to them. It had been a great pleasure to him to come there that day, and he felt it was a very great honour to him that they should have conveyed themselves, as it were, temporarily to his charge; and he wished them success in their visits to the many places they would be able to see, and if they only had fine weather they would have a feast of beauty and good things before them that would occupy them well during the ten days of their stay.

The party then began the perambulation of the city, and the first visit was paid to the University Buildings and some of the old houses of the city, under the guidance of Mr. E. G. Bruton, F.S.A.

Progress was subsequently made to the Bodleian Library, where the Librarian exhibited some of the chiefest of the large collection of interesting pictures, antiquities, models, casts, books and MSS. Among the last, and temporarily placed in the Library pending its republication by Mr. Evans, is the celebrated Hengwrt Codex, known as the *Liber Landavensis*, a twelfth century chronicle or register of Llandaff, containing lives and notices of the early Saints whom that see especially venerates, viz., Teliavus or Teilo, Dubricius, and Oudoceus; a large series of charters granting lands to the Church, of which the principal interest is that the boundaries are given in the ancient vernacular; and the correspondence which passed in the years 1130 and 1131 between the Papal Court, Urban Bishop of Llandaff, and the Bishops of Hereford and St. David's, respecting the alleged usurpation of parts of the diocese of Llandaff by the two last named Prelates. Many years ago the *Liber* was edited, from a later MS., by Rees, who gave the variant readings of this MS. in his foot-notes. In the time of Rees the place of deposit of this ancient MS. was unknown. It is now in the possession of Mr. Davies-Cooke. The other MSS. which were exhibited in the show-cases were also examined attentively.

TUESDAY, 8TH JULY 1890.

The members of the Association spent Tuesday at Merton College, where the Warden, the Hon. George Brodrick, D.C.L., read a paper (which has been printed above, at pp. 1-11) on the growth of the collegiate system, of which he claimed Walter de Merton as the undoubted founder. He then acted as guide to the College chapel, which serves also as a parish church, rich in brasses and in painted windows of the Decorated period; to the College sacristy, and its ancient quadrangle and library; and afterwards to the College garden with its terraced walk on the southern city wall.

From Merton the party proceeded to New College, where the Warden, Dr. Sewell, conducted them over the College hall, gardens, chapel, and cloisters, pointing out the features of each.

The Dean received the Association at Christ Church in the afternoon, and gave some account of the hall and Cathedral. The portraits of illustrious students, which are hung round the hall, were examined. They do not appear to be arranged in any particular order. In the chapter-house is preserved a fragmentary but elegantly carved tomb-slab of a Countess of Warwick, thought to be that of Ela, recently removed from the site of Osney Abbey. It bears the legend, in a rhyming leonine hexameter,—

[ELE] . DE . WARWIC . [COMI]TISSE . VISCERA . SVNT . HIC.

Here, too, let into the wall, opposite the doorway, is the imperfect inscribed slab of the foundation of Wolsey's College School at Ipswich. It is interesting for the shapes of the capital letters used by sculptors of the period, where the A has several forms, the E resembles F, and the M resembles N. The Palæographical Society might well reproduce this inscription among its series of British epigraphy. It runs as follows :

ANNO . CH[RIS]TI . MDXX[V]III . ET . REGNI . HENRICI . REGIS . ANGLIÆ . XX .
MENSIS . VERO . IVNII . XV . POSITVM ... P[er] IOH'EM . EP'M . LID'EN.

The Dean pointed out the important features of the architecture of the Cathedral; and the harmonious effect of the late roof resting on the very early Norman work of the walls and arches was particularly noticed.

Mr. J. Park Harrison, M.A., of Christ Church, at the request of the Dean, pointed out the discoveries that he had made during the last two years regarding the date of the Cathedral. He said that the received view, that the fabric was rebuilt on a new plan between 1160 and 1180 had been found, on a careful examination of the stonework according to Professor Willis' method, to be incorrect. The late Norman work of that date, it had been ascertained, was inserted in or added to older walls. In proof of this, attention was directed to the break of joint in the ashlar-work of the west end of the choir-aisles, where the stones of the attached pillars and the quarter-capitals at the junction with the transepts, did not range with nor resemble the work in the choir; where also some of the capitals are more weather-worn than any elsewhere in the Church, and as regards their ornamental features closely resemble patterns in illuminated MSS. of the date of Ethelred II, who is recorded to have made considerable additions to an earlier Saxon church. The Norman vaulting-shafts and ribs in the choir-aisles appear to have been inserted after the vaulting; which, again, there is structural evidence to show was not in

existence at the time the Norman presbytery was added at the east end of the choir. A careful examination of the two arches which were found under the plastering in the north choir-aisle and Lady Chapel has led to the conviction that they formed parts of the earlier Saxon church restored by Ethelred in 1004, and midway between them there are indications of a third and wider archway, whilst corresponding remains exist, 2 ft. beneath the ground, of the foundations of three apses.

Late in the day a visit was paid to the New Museum of Natural Science, in the Parks, where the party was received by Sir Henry Acland, Bart.

At the evening meeting, in the Examination Schools, High Street, Mr. J. S. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A., read a paper on "Some Striking Historical and Linguistic Features belonging to the first Thousand Years of British History, and attaching to the Vicinity of the British Roads and Earthworks", which, it is hoped, will be printed hereafter.

Dr. Bellamy expressed himself pleased with the paper, and identified one of the roads in Norfolk to which Dr. Phené had referred.

Mr. Burnard, of Plymouth, also reported that he had just been examining for the Devonshire Association, and had mapped and planned, twenty-two miles of a road which went over Dartmoor to Mount's Bay. He identified it as one of those spoken of by the lecturer.

Afterwards Mr. John Gilbert read a paper on "Precollegiate Oxford", which will be printed in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 11TH JULY 1890.

The party made its way to-day to Banbury, and thence drove to Broughton Castle, the seat of Lord Saye and Sele. It is a mediæval, moated mansion with entrance-hall, private chapel of the Decorated period, and the watch-tower on the roof. Thence to the parish church adjoining the Castle, and rich in monuments.

From Broughton the party drove to Bloxham, where they examined the parish church. After lunch to Adderbury, and thence to King's Sutton, inspecting both those churches, which form, with Bloxham, a triad of noble and lofty spires. At King's Sutton Manor House afternoon tea had been provided, with much kindness, by the resident Squire, Mr. Willes.

In the evening an address on "Proposed Excavations at Silchester" was given in the Examination Schools by Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A.

In the course of his remarks Mr. Grover explained that the distance from Charing Cross (west) to Silchester was forty-five miles; it was eight miles and a half south-west of Reading, and twenty-five miles

from Staines. At Silchester the remains of a great temple had been discovered, although little had hitherto been done to thoroughly unearth it. He had no doubt that when a further examination had been made of the spot, the temple would in all probability be found to have been dedicated to the god Apollo or the Sun. He had it in his mind's eye where he thought he could go and find the place, and he believed if he had a pick and shovel he could unearth a portion of it. They had an account of excavations made at Silchester in 1830, when about two hundred Roman brass coins were found on a skeleton. In 1865-7 and 1873 explorations were continued by Mr. Joyce, who read a valuable paper on the subject before the Society of Antiquaries.

Mr. Grover then mentioned that the discovery had been made of a house which was supposed to have been that of a Roman chief magistrate, the remarkable thing about the residence being that it stood very near the Forum. The story was that the house was built about the year 50, when the Apostles were on earth. It was re-erected in the year 190, and remodelled and rebuilt in the year 300 or 320. That was to say that they got the evidence of the house extending over a period of very nearly three hundred years with continued occupation and improvement.

Alluding, amidst applause, to the Forum at Silchester, the lecturer said that they had a thing which nobody had, except at Pompeii. The Italians had got a Forum which it took Vesuvius to give them; but the French, Spanish, and German nations could boast nothing of the kind. In England they had a Roman Forum of the most perfect kind. It was a most wonderful structure. The building was 275 ft. across on one side, and 313 ft. on the other. In the centre was a market-place, 131 ft. by 141, and there was a place where people could walk in wet weather such as they had had that day. On the west side of the building was the basilica, like Westminster Hall; but he found that the former was 18 ft. longer than the latter. They should look upon these discoveries with profound reverence and awe. Mr. Grover took his hearers in an imaginary walk round the Forum, visiting the butcher's shop, the banking establishment, the place for chancery business, the merchants' hall, and the High Priest's office, finishing up with the oyster-bar at the corner of the building, where, he laughingly observed, they would feel most at home.

A short discussion followed, and at the close Mr. Grover was accorded a hearty vote of thanks for his interesting lecture.

THURSDAY, 10TH JULY 1890.

To-day a visit was made to All Souls' College, where a paper on its history and antiquities was read by Mr. Hurst, who led the party over the library, hall, and chapel. Here the principal points of examination were the elaborate modern reredos at the east end of the chapel, consisting of thirty-five statues in three grand tiers of niches, and nearly a hundred smaller statuettes, also in niches, together with a set subject of the crucifixion of Our Lord treated in a rather unconventional manner; the ancient encaustic tiles bearing shields of arms,—(1), a chevron between three cinquefoils; and (2), the same impaling the see of Canterbury, for the shepherd-boy, Archbishop Henry Chichele, founder of the College in 1437; the library; the ancient seal on which "The Song of the Mallard" was founded; the fifteenth century salt-cellar of silver, parcel-gilt, and crystal, said to be older than the College itself; the Planetarium; and the sundial inscribed "Pereunt et imputantur."

The church of St. Peter-in-the East, the next place visited, is one of the oldest edifices in Oxford. Its condition in some parts is unsatisfactory. The foundation of this church has been fabulously attributed to King Alfred. The dedication is to St. Peter-ad-Vincula, and a peculiar and unusual decoration of the groining of the vaulted roof of the chancel has been thought to represent St. Peter's chains, which are here sculptured as large as a chain-cable of a man-of-war. The chancel has ambulatories. There was at one time a belief that an underground passage of great length existed here; but on exploration the passage stopped somewhat ludicrously after a yard or two, to the mortification of its would-be investigators. The beautiful crypt is the important feature. There were three ways down to it from the church, and one from the churchyard, but only the outside way is practicable at present. The floor has been dug about, and the whole apartment is sadly in need of careful treatment to preserve it from further injury. One only of the Norman capitals of the arched vaults is carved with a subject, apparently Samson or David in combat with a lion. Externally, the church shows signs, at the east end, of an older roof; and the round turrets at the angles, the little round-headed windows now blocked up, and the rectangular window below them, combine to present, in this view of the church, an edifice strongly resembling the primitive elevations and views of church-buildings which occur on the oldest seals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Mr. J. Park Harrison, to whose critical examination of the points and details on which all that is known of Anglo-Saxon architecture, as distinguished from

Early Norman, depends, we look forward with much interest, sees in this east end several indications of a Saxon origin. In the same way he urges on antiquaries the duty of examining certain details in Christ Church Cathedral and the church of St. Leonard at Wallingford, with a view to throwing back their antiquity to a remoter period than has hitherto been assigned to them.

Then to Magdalen College, where the President, assisted by the venerable Dr. Bloxham, showed the College chapel, hall, and library, and pointed out its state rooms, its common room, and its noble tower.

From Magdalen Gate the party drove to St. Bartholomew's Priory, on the edge of Cowley; and thence to Iffley, to inspect the fine Norman church, where Mr. Freeman acted as interpreter.

After lunch the party inspected, by permission of the Home Secretary, the mound and sole remaining tower of Oxford Castle, and its crypt, Mr. E. G. Bruton giving an account of the walls which surrounded the Castle and the city; and a hasty visit was made to St. Michael's Church in the Corn Market, with its Saxon tower, built to serve as a beacon, on the city wall; and to Balliol College, where they were shown the supposed site of the burning of Bishops Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.

There was an evening meeting in the Examination Schools, under the presidency of Mr. Cates, at which an interesting paper on "The Walls of the City of Oxford in the Thirteenth Century" was read by Mr. E. G. Bruton; and a discussion followed, in which the Warden of Merton, Mr. Park Harrison, Mr. Hurst, Mr. Drinkwater, and the Chairman, took part. Then followed a paper by Dr. Joseph Stevens on "Notes on a Cemetery recently discovered at Reading, probably of late Saxon Date", which was read by Mr. W. de Gray Birch. It is hoped that these papers will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

FRIDAY, 12TH JULY 1890.

This morning the members and visitors proceeded to St. Mary's Church, Witney, and were met by the Rector, the Rev. Foxley Norris, M.A., who gave a description of the building, which was restored some years ago under the direction of the late Mr. Street. This is a late Norman edifice, the tower dating about 1220-30, with eight bells; the spire contemporary, with large turrets at the angles, which he thought reminded one of similar work at Bayeux. At least ten altars can be shown to have existed in this church. The stone employed in the work is very hard. It is thought to come from Tainton, also situate on the river Windrush, in this county, whence it could easily be transported to this site, the name of which may, perhaps, be connected

with that river's name. The decaying, crumbling stone of which so many Oxford buildings consist contrasts sadly with the fine, sharp edges to be seen at Witney, which have stood six hundred years of weathering. This church has been called the "Cathedral of Wychwood", and some of the details of the carving, representing boars' heads, stags' heads, and other emblems of the chase, are thought to symbolise the sports which the adjacent forest of Wychwood afforded in times long past. The length across the long transepts is equal to that from east to west. The east end of the church was examined.

Having thanked the Rector for his courtesy, the party walked to Coggs Church, also dedicated to St. Mary, and the Vicar, the Rev. E. J. U. Payne, M.A., pointed out the objects of interest in and near the sacred edifice.

Returning to Witney, the visitors proceeded to Minster Lovell, and inspected the church, which is dedicated to St. Kenelm. The ingenuity displayed in carrying the thrust of the tower to the buttresses on the exterior of the church excited universal admiration. The vaulted porch leading from the churchyard to the Castle was also noticed, and a hope expressed that steps would be taken to preserve it from further ruin.

Lovell's fortalice was examined, and admired for the beauty of its design and workmanship. The barbican, rising from the brink of the river, is considered to have proved impregnable at the period of its erection. The President read an account of the Castle and the tragic death of its last occupant.

The visitors proceeded to Burford Church, where they were met by the Vicar, the Rev. W. Anthony Cass, who welcomed the Association to the town and church of Burford. He conducted the visitors through the church.

The place is venerable in history for the Synod of 685, by which Malmesbury Abbey was enriched with extensive lands at Somerford in Wiltshire. This borough witnessed the battle, in 752, between Ethelbald and Cuthred. The burgesses had a common seal, and formerly possessed the right of hunting in Wychwood Forest for one day in each year; a right commuted in 1593 for a pair of bucks and a fawn, formally demanded with sportive solemnities by an elected "lord and lady" (generally a boy and girl of Burford) from the keepers of the Forest on Whit Sunday afternoon.

The church, which is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, has the Agnus Dei (emblem of that Saint) carved in the stonework. There are a Norman doorway, a massive-looking tower with six bells (from which the curfew has sounded for many a day), and several chapels or chantries.

Among the celebrities of the parish are William Lenthall, Speaker

of the House of Commons, 1640, buried in Pynnock's Aisle; Brideoak, then Rector; Peter Heylyn, born here in 1599, and educated at the Grammar School; and Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, born here in 1610.

Mr. Cass also allowed the visitors to inspect the Registers belonging to the parish. The visitors walked to the south-east corner of the churchyard, from which point the principal features of the vast building can be seen to great advantage.

A vote of thanks having been carried by acclamation, was responded to by Mr. Cass.

Minster Lovel and Shipton were also included in the day's programme.

After luncheon the party visited the Priory, once the seat of Speaker Lenthall, and having viewed the interior assembled in the Ball-Room, where Mr. H. Paintin gave a short account of the Manor of Burford from the Reformation to the present time, and also a brief description of the Priory and its occupants. A ground-plan was also submitted, which assisted the visitors to form some idea of the original extent of the building. A visit was then paid to the chapel, now in a very ruinous state.

The visitors left for Shipton, having expressed themselves highly pleased with their visit and the reception accorded them.

Mr. A. J. Butler presided at the evening meeting.

Mr. Park Harrison introduced the subject of the Saxon church of St. Leonard, Wallingford, which the Association was to visit the next day, and said that on clearing away the plaster of the chancel and apse-arches, at the time of restoring the church, some Saxon diaper-work was found, and his examination of it convinced him that it was a wonderful part of an old church.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on "The Isis in the Saxon Charters, and the Signification of the Name of Berkshire", which will, we hope, be printed hereafter.

Mr. A. J. Butler, F.S.A., of Brasenose College, exhibited and gave an account of a bronze knocker, which is believed to be that from which Brasenose derives its name, and which has just come into the possession of the College. The Hall of Brasenose was one of those which occupied the site of the present College, before its foundation in 1509, and so far had a continuous existence that the last Principal of the Hall was the first Principal of the College. To what antiquity the Hall ascended has not been ascertained, but the name Brazen Nose Hall occurs in deeds at least as early as the year 1219, and may be considerably earlier. The name was almost beyond doubt given, as in the case of several other hostelries of the kind, from a sign which characterised the building. The knocker exhibited is of bronze, in the form of a lion's head, having a ring of iron with two griffins' heads

upon it. Mr. Butler was of opinion that it dates from the twelfth century. From time immemorial it has been preserved at a house called "Brasenose", at Stamford, where it is believed to have been taken by the students of Brasenose Hall, when they migrated thither from Oxford in 1334. An account of this migration may be found in Anthony Wood and in Peck's *Annals of Stamford*. The students founded in Stamford a new collegiate institution, to which they transferred the name of their Oxford home; but of the building nothing now remains except an ancient archway, upon the door of which the knocker remained until ten years ago, when it was removed for security into the house which occupies the site. This house Brasenose College has just purchased, and they are fortunate in having acquired a property of such peculiar historical interest to them. Their first act has been to restore to the College the heirloom which has been exiled from their foundation for more than five-and-a-half centuries.

The article was handed round for inspection, and appeared to be a massive ring-knocker fixed in a nose of brass, and a few questions were put as to its authenticity.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the meeting to a termination.

SATURDAY, 12TH JULY.

The party to-day visited Dorchester, where the Abbey Church was explained by the rector and Mr. Arthur Cates. The drive was continued to Ewelme, where the church, the hospital adjoining, and its tombs, were much admired. Here the party was met by the master of the hospital, Sir Henry Acland. From Ewelme they drove past the little Norman Church of Crowmarsh to Wallingford, where they were able to take a hasty glance at St. Leonard's Church, the fortifications of the old town, and the remains of its historic castle, which were explained by Mr. J. K. Hedges. Mr. Hedges' paper, which was curtailed in reading on account of the shortness of time, will be printed in full, we hope, in a future part of the *Journal*.

The drive home was by Brightwell, Barrow, and Sinodun Hill, and thence through Little and Long Wittenham, to Clifton Hampden.

In the evening the closing meeting took place in the Council Chamber. The Mayor (Alderman Hughes) had issued invitations to members of the Corporation and friends. Amongst those present were the Mayor, who wore his chain of office) and Mayoress, the Rev. O. Ogle, Mr. A. Cates, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, Mr. G. R. Wright, Aldermen Jenkin and Woodward, Councillors Taphouse, Carver, and Kempson, Mr. H. Hurst, Mr. E. G. Bruton, Major Lambert, Mr. W. F. Laxton, and a number of ladies. The choice plate belonging to the

Corporation was laid out for inspection, and several of the charters and valuable manuscripts from the city archives were examined with much interest by the visitors. Light refreshments were provided.

The Mayor said this was the closing meeting of the Archæological Association, which had held its annual Congress in Oxford during the week. He had asked the Rev. O. Ogle to give a short description of the old charters and other ancient documents belonging to the city ; and he understood that Major Lambert would say a few words as to the city plate.

The Rev. O. Ogle pointed out that Oxford was exceedingly rich in charters and ancient documents of all kinds. He doubted whether any town, excepting London, had so many charters. He had counted twenty-six royal charters—and he was not sure he could not increase the number—of which they possessed either originals or copies. The only possible explanation he could give was that the fees payable to the King were acceptable to the officials of the Crown, and because the citizens were afraid by a non-use of their privileges they might lose them. The earliest charter Oxford possessed, no doubt, was issued by Henry I. He was sorry they had not the original of Henry II's charter, but they had it quoted in John's charter, and by it the citizens of Oxford were placed on the same footing as the citizens of London. By virtue of this, the Mayor of Oxford was assistant-butler at the Coronation. The Charter of John was a recital of previous charters. He exhibited a document dated February 18, 1229, which conveyed the site of the land which the city buildings now occupied, and another one, issued in the 42nd year of Henry III, calling what was known as the "Mad Parliament", by which were issued the famous "provisions of Oxford". This document, he was bold to say, was one of the most valuable and interesting in the whole of England. This was the first State document issued in the English language, and only one copy of it was known to exist. It was rather curious that in the document before him of Edward I the citizens complained that the University would not deal with them, and went elsewhere. There was also a complaint on the part of the University that they were overcharged. Edward I issued this writ to the citizens of Oxford, enjoining upon them that they should prevent no strangers from selling victuals in Oxford, provided only that they paid the customary dues and did not sell by retail. In the 36th year of Edward III he determined to celebrate his fiftieth birthday, and he issued a pardon to all subjects, not excepting those even guilty of treason and murder. (A copy of this writ, as well as other documents, was handed round for inspection.) He next directed attention to a series of papers connected with the building of New College, and showed two elegantly written letters by William of Wykeham. He showed a document of Philip and

Mary's time, confirming the constitution of the Bishopric of Oxford, and a charter of Charles II. James II turned out the Mayor and Corporation, and made the city pay a thousand pounds. The citizens received the announcement with utter silence and great tribulation, said the historian, but happily a few weeks afterwards James left the kingdom. The Corporation came back in due form, and James retained the thousand pounds.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch also said a few words. He was of opinion that the charters were of the greatest importance, and he urged the Corporation to have the seals on them repaired, in order that they might remain as proofs of their genuineness and authenticity: when the seal was lost the charter was mutilated to a great extent.

Major Lambert gave an explanation as to the city plate. The silver plates and dishes dated back to the reign of Charles II. There was a good silver tankard of William and Mary, and a fine fish-knife. He described the three small maces, which he remarked had a great identity with those at Southampton, which possessed eight. One of the maces was of the reign of Henry VIII, another Elizabethan, and the great mace was of the time of Charles II. The silver cup given to Oxford in the reign of Charles II was a very choice piece of plate, but the best of all was the gold cup. It was presented by the Duke of Buckingham. There was no inscription about it that he could see, but they knew James I had a favourite, Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, from whom he thought the cup probably came. A large sum of money must have been expended in producing such an excellent vessel. He spoke of the rarity of gold vessels. He knew of one or two, but they were sacramental. This was a loving-cup of gold, which it was said was difficult to work perfectly. This cup was valuable; they had nothing of the kind in London. Oxford possessed great treasures, and he did not think there was any other corporation, excepting Southampton, which had such a grand collection of plate. He had been requested to return the best thanks of the British Archæological Society to the authorities of Oxford for the kind reception which the members had experienced. If at any time they could afford information which might be required as to any of the old documents, it would be most readily given.

The Mayor having replied,

Mr. Laxton proposed a vote of thanks to the Vice-Chancellor, the Warden of Merton, the President of Magdalen, Sir Henry Acland, and other members of the University who had assisted in the arrangements. He remarked that at one time it was a question whether they should proceed with the Congress or not, owing to the death of Lord Carnarvon, the President for the year. It was left to the gentlemen in Oxford who had kindly assisted to say whether the arrangements

should go on. The Vice-Chancellor and others considered the question, and determined that the meeting should be held. The gathering, he was pleased to say, was one of the most successful of the many Congresses that had taken place.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

Councillor Carver, on behalf of the citizens, expressed their gratification and pleasure at welcoming the Association to Oxford, and especially their thanks to the Earl of Winchilsea for taking the chair at the opening meeting, and for the excellent, eloquent, and interesting address which he delivered. He was sure they all felt grateful to him, and would feel renewed interest in the buildings of Oxford which the noble Earl so ably described. They were proud of their city, and they were glad to have this opportunity of welcoming to it gentlemen who could appreciate its beauties, and understood its antiquities.

Mr. Cates wished to express their obligations to the Local Committee and the Local Honorary Secretaries for their efforts to make the Congress a success. Unfortunately, from circumstances they all regretted, Mr. Glasson had not been able to attend the meeting and put the finishing touch on the arrangements. They were greatly obliged to Mr. Hurst for the information he had given them, and his continued presence amongst them. Their best thanks were also due to Mr. Bruton and Mr. Drinkwater. It was something like twenty-five years since he had the privilege of being shown over a great part of Oxford by Mr. Bruton. The pleasure of those days had always lived in his memory, and had been renewed by the kindness and assistance they had received from him on this occasion. Not the least interesting or valuable paper read at their meetings was that by Mr. Bruton on the ancient walls of the city. They had generally been well favoured, and the meeting had given the utmost satisfaction to all who had taken part in it.

The vote of thanks was carried unanimously.

Mr. Bruton briefly acknowledged the compliment on behalf of the Committee.

Mr. Bimch proposed a vote of thanks to the Clergy of the Diocese, who had kindly thrown open their churches for the inspection of the members of the Association.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. Bruton, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded the Hon. Secretaries.

Mr. Wright briefly responded, and the Congress separated shortly afterwards.

Three extra days were arranged: on Monday, 14th July, the members assembled in the Hall of Queen's College. Mr. Hurst had been

asked to speak. A visit was afterwards paid to Corpus Christi College. In these colleges an inspection of the old plate and relics had been courteously promised. Afterwards the party proceeded to St. Mary's Church, under the guidance of the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, Vicar. Later in the day the party assembled in the Hall of Wadham College, and proceeded to St. John's College.

On Tuesday, 15th July, the arrangements were that the members and visitors should proceed to Stanton Harcourt, through Cumnor and Eynsham. At Stanton Harcourt, hospitality had been kindly offered to the party by W. P. Walsh, Esq., and Mrs. Porter. Afterwards the party proceeded *via* New Bridge to Abingdon, where the remains of the Prior's House, now a brewery belonging to G. H. Morrell, Esq., and those of the ancient Abbey close by, would be visited, by the kind permission of the owner. The Churches of St. Helen and St. Nicholas, to be also inspected, and the return to Oxford made by Radley and Kennington.

On Wednesday, 16th July, the party proceeded by the steamer down the River Thames to Reading, in time for a train by the Great Western Railway to Paddington.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 7TH JANUARY 1891.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

MR. E. P. L. BROCK, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited photographs of three stones, which were described by Mr. F. D. Lindley, of Ancaster, as follows: "I send the photograph of the three stones I found. They are made from the soft Ancaster stone; not sufficiently hard, one would think, for corn-grinding. They were about 100 yards east of the Camp, 3 ft. below the surface, mixed up with burnt earth, charcoal, fragments of pottery, animal-bones, small deer-horns, small lump molten lead, pieces of buckhorn, apparently part of a knife-haft. I dug a trench some 30 yards long. I found at the same depth, at few feet intervals, patches of burnt soil and charcoal, and a rough, rubble-stone grave, the only stone worked, being a small one, hollowed out to contain the head. The whole of the ground had every appearance of having been disturbed. The three stones in photograph lying any way. The depth of the bowl is about 6 ins. in centre."

MR. W. de GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, laid on the table a variety of antiquities forwarded to the Association by Mr. J. W. Bodger of Peterborough. They consist of—1, coin of Antigonus Gonatus; 2, coin of Heliocles; 3, coin of Tenedos; 4, two, Faustina and Tetricus, from the Cross Keys foundation-walls; 5, two Roman coins from Castor, Drnsus, etc.; 6, two coins, Constantius and Diocletianus, dug up in Eastgate, Peterborough; 7, bronze needle dug up in Cowgate; 8, two brooches (?), Peterborough; 9, thimble; 10, bell and hook, Minster Gateway, Peterborough; 11, key, Cross Keys; 12, bone knife, Bridge Street.

Mr. Brock exhibited a collection of casts and impressions of seals, including several of the city and see of Canterbury.

Mr. J. H. Macmichael exhibited a large series of antiquities from recent London excavations. They range from Roman times to the seventeenth century. Among them were—Early Siegburg canette-shaped jug, 9 in. high, narrow towards the mouth. Austin Friars, 1890.—Mug (small) of Rockingham ware, 4 in. high, 7½ in. circum-

ference ; one handle only. Great Bell Alley, 1890.—Bronze spigot from a well on the site of Sir William Drury's house, Drury Lane, 1890.—Roman key. Barge Yard.—Phial of Roman glass, pointed at base, 5 in. long. Basinghall Street, 1890.—Roman knife-handle, bone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. : incised lines, three one side, and four the other ; square, with bevelled edges.—Seventeenth century pastry-cutter (presumably) from the site of Sir Theodore Mayerne's house, St. Martin's Lane, physician to James I.—Roman glass bead. Great Swan Alley.—Roman nail, 18 in. long (a rare length). Copthall Avenue.—Roman oil-cruze (*gut-tus*), annulated surface, $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. Austin Friars.—Venetian glass bottle, cerulean blue tinted, ribbed globular ; long-neck, broken off ; $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. circumference.—Bronze ring, flat, 2 in. diam. Upper Thames Street, Roman level.—Roman spear-head, perfect, dredged at Wandsworth, $16\frac{1}{4}$ in. long.—Torso of Roman soldier (*sagittarius*), 18 in., dredged at Hammersmith, 1890.—Roman steelyard beam, bronze. Austin Friars.—Iron gonge. Austin Friars.—Roman amphora-stopper. Upper Thames Street.—Portion of another steelyard-beam, bronze.—Bronze buckle, 4 in. wide, 2 in. across. Upper Thames Street.—Calthrop for wounding the feet of horses in cavalry attacks. Barge Yard.—Bronze coin, first brass, of Antoninus Pius ; another of his wife (second brass), Faustina the Elder. Both found together at Austin Friars, 1890.—Roman knife and chisel. Austin Friars, 1890.—Roman compasses. Barge Yard.—First brass of Galba ; on reverse, in hands of executioner, with soldiers around.—Iron nail, Roman, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. long. Copthall Avenue.—Bone knife, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Aldermanbury.—Bone fork, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.,



Ancient Knife.

pronged, as if to match, but found in St. Martin's Lane.—Roman harrow-tooth. Austin Friars.

Mr. G. Payne, F.S.A., of Rochester, announced his discovery, at Plumstead, Kent, of a so-called "Dene-Hole", about 60 by 40 ft., containing bones of the *Bos longifrons*, deer, pig, horned sheep or goat, weasel, polecat, and stoat ; also Roman *ficilia* of Black Upchurch ware, a square-shouldered sheep-bell of Roman times, and a knife. Human remains were found in this pit or cave.

Mr. Payne also exhibited a very large collection of finely drawn antiquities, and read a paper upon them, entitled "Mr. Henry Durdin's Local Collection at Blandford, Dorsetshire." They consist of palæolithic implements and bronze weapons. The paper has been printed at pp. 60-63.

WEDNESDAY, 21ST JAN. 1891.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:—

To the Author, for "The Prymer, or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages." By Henry Littlehales. Longmans, 1891.

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society", vol. xiv, 2, 1889-90; and to the same Society for "Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire", by Charles S. Taylor.

" " for "The Royal Institute of British Architects: Transactions", vol. vi, New Series. Fifty-sixth year. London, 1890.

" " for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xxiv, Part III.

" " for "Zeitschrift der historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen." Jahrg., 1890; Hannover, 1890.

Mr. J. H. Macmichael exhibited a collection of antiquities from recent excavations in London, viz.,—

Two mediæval bone skates, fastened to the foot with a thong or cord which passed through the hole at the toe, and secured with a plug driven into the hole at the heel-end. The skater then propelled himself with an iron-shod pole, said to be still in use in Sweden. Described by Fitz-Stephen (earliest mention). Made from the *tibia* or leg-bone of the horse. Their origin is, according to Strutt, untraceable.

Thrift-box. The orifice in the thrift-boxes of this shape, which is that most commonly found, was horizontal, but much narrower, owing to the thinner coins, than the aperture in the modern and less prettily named money-box. It was impossible to open these earthen vessels without breaking them; consequently they are very rare indeed unfractured. There is a good example showing the aperture, but broken in other parts, in the British Museum; and an illustration of the position of the orifice is given in a note (4) to the fifth Act of "Romeo and Juliet", Halliwell's *Shakespeare*, folio.

Lambeth-Delft kidney paste-jar (*pâte à la reine*), and small, bowl-shaped salve-pot. Both dug up at Great Newport Street.

Greek *lecythos*, fifth century B.C., painted earthenware. Found in a well on the site of the New Admiralty.

Cup, upper part glazed (1728). Dug up in Charing Cross Road.

Collection of figured Samian ware. All found in London.

Norman draughtsman or "table-man", made from walrus-tusk. Found in Barge Yard. Design, apparently, of dragon entwined with other object or objects. $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. in depth.

They come from an old house situated behind 210 and 211 Piccadilly, dating, undoubtedly, from the Stuart period, when Piccadilly was first built as a street, extending no further than Sackville Street.

Mr. C. Lynam, of Stoke-upon-Trent, read a paper on "The Font at Lapley, Staffordshire", and exhibited drawings and squeezes of the subjects upon it. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper contributed by Dr. S. Russell Forbes, of Rome, on the "Discovery of Etruscan Temples at Faleria", illustrated with photographs. It will be printed in a future Number of the *Journal*, if possible.

WEDNESDAY, 4TH FEBRUARY 1891.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., *HON. SEC.*, IN THE CHAIR.

Arthur Cates, Esq., was elected a Vice-President,

The following members were elected :

J. Park Harrison, Esq., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford, 22 Connaught Place, W.

James Lang, Esq., 9 Crown Gardens, Dowanhill, Glasgow.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Author, for "Notes on a Finnish Boat preserved in Edinburgh."

By David MacRitchie, F.S.A.Scot.

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Warwickshire Field Club."

Eighty-fourth Annual Report. 1889.

„ „ for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Fifth Series, No. 29.

Mr. J. M. Wood exhibited an amphora-handle inscribed G ANTONI... found outside the Roman wall of Colchester, together with Samian fragments bearing elegant and elaborate designs.

Mr. Way pointed out that they were almost identical with patterns of Samian finds in London.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a variety of antiquities, including a carved nutcracker in form of a man's face, seventeenth century; a crucible found at the corner of Godliman Street, St. Paul's; and a perforated cannon-ball found in a field at Templeton, near Tiverton, Devon. During the civil war this town and neighbourhood were the scene of many a severe struggle between the Cavaliers and Roundheads. At first the Parliamentarians took possession of the town, but in 1643 were driven out by the Royalists. In 1644 Charles I entered it in person.

On October 15th, 1645, Fairfax and Massey, with a considerable army, marched from Collumpton, and recaptured the town and castle without much difficulty. Cromwell soon afterwards joined them, and completed the conquest of the West.

Mr. J. H. Macmichael read a paper on "The Traders' Signs of London", and exhibited several old signs, kindly lent by Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., for the illustration of the paper, which, it is hoped, will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH FEBRUARY 1891.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were elected :

Jas. H. Macmichael, Esq., Spike House, Hammersmith, W.
 Geo. A. Touch, C.A., 47 Goldhurst Terrace, Finchley Road, N.W.
 L. Richard H. J. Gurney, Esq., Northrepps Hall, Norwich

The following Honorary Correspondents were elected :

James Lindley, Esq., Ancaster
 Rev. J. H. Duke, Stevington Rectory, Beds.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Salisbury Field Club", vol. i, Part I.

" " for "Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society", New Series, vol. i ; New Series, vol. i, Part IV ; Report for 1890.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a variety of antiquities found near High Street, Southwark. Among them a glass *ampulla*, or lachrymatory ; a pyriform pot of rough, reddish, yellow ware ; a Roman lamp ; a saucer of coarse Samian style ; potter's stamp in the centre, illegible ; a vase or pot of black ware ; a pewter pass-counter marked "Vauxhall. 1."

Mr. R. Howlett, F.S.A., exhibited a fragment of ancient wall-paper printed from woodblock, and hand-painted, and a piece of a Bellarmine. The following communication was read :—

"The Maid's Head Hotel, Norwich, from which I show a piece of old wall-paper, is a very ancient hostelry. It is mentioned in the *Paston Letters*, Sir John Paston writing, in November 1472, to Margaret Paston as follows respecting an intended visitor : 'I praye you make him goode cheer and iff it be so that he tarye it were best to sette his horse at the Maydes Hedde and I shall be content for their

expenses.' The Norwich Mayoralty Court Roll for 1535 contains a reference to it; and it may be traced in records through the seventeenth century, and down to the present time. The site on which it stands is a very ancient one, and my friend who lent me these objects has made excavations in the garden of the house next door, and has traced, down to 10 ft. below the soil, some ancient walls which he believes belong to the old bishop's house which Blomefield says stood where the Hotel now stands.

"There is a Norman capital in one of the cellars, whether *in situ*, or imported as a convenient stone, no one can say; but in the present coffee-room there is an ancient, open fire-place; elsewhere there is an oak-framed window which architects say is fifteenth century work; and in the basement there are arches and fragments such as prove at least the antiquity of the site.

"The piece of wall-paper is curious; but I give no guess as to its age. I rather ask for opinions. The piece of a grey-beard, or Bellarmine, which came from a depth of 10 ft. in the garden of the house next door, is of course of only seventeenth century date; but the ornamentation, especially a band of leaf-ornament, is singularly good.

"Later on further excavations are to be made, and if any good results, my friend Mr. Rye will, I am sure, let me show here whatever may turn up."

A paper was read entitled

DISCOVERIES AT MITCHELDEAN.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.

An interesting discovery was made at Mitcheldean, in Gloucestershire, in May 1890. This find consisted of a roughly formed flint knife, 2½ in. long; a small flint saw, 3 in. in length, and serrated on one side; and a broken earthenware handle. These articles were found among a quantity of charcoal, about 10 ft. from the surface, near the Wilderness Cement Works. They were all resting on a long layer composed of pebbles and small pieces of brown hematite ore. The 10 ft. of red marl above had evidently been washed down from the higher ground at a later period.

"Any objects found in this neighbourhood are of interest, for Mitcheldean is only a few miles distant from the ancient Ariconium,—a station between Glouavum and Magna Castra,—which was, doubtless, destroyed by fire after the Romans had evacuated Britain. The ground to the west of this ancient station is often called *Cinder Hill*. There may be found a mass of scorix just below the surface, remains of smelting furnaces perhaps tracing up to Roman times, and at work till the last century. At various periods urns, statues, vases, and fibulæ, have been discovered, and in the reign of George II pieces of bronze

and many coins were unearthed. These discoveries are alluded to by the poet Phillips :

— " this fair city fell, of which the name
Survives alone ; nor is there found a mark
Whereby the curious passenger may learn
Her ample site, save coins and mouldering urns."

Ariconium was the centre of several Roman roads,—1, from Gloucester to Ross ; 2, to Monmouth, crossing the Wye below Goodrich. There was a short cut to the Roman road running north from Monmouth to Shrewsbury, through Kenchester, joining Weston with Kenchester, and passing by Fownhope.

A second paper was then read on "Syllabubs and Syllabub-Vessels", by H. S. Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.Scot., which we hope may be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 4TH MARCH 1891.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following elections were duly announced :

Rev. F. H. J. McCormick, F.S.A.Scot., St. George's, Derby
Arthur B. Prowse, Esq., M.D., for the Bristol Literary and Philo-
sophic Club.

J. W. Grover, Esq., F.S.A., was appointed a Vice-President.

A. Oliver, Esq., and R. Bagster, Esq., were appointed Members of Council ; and Dr. A. Fryer, Local Member of Council for Gloucestershire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the author, for "*Etnologia Italica: Etruschi*." By Ferd. Borsari. 8vo. 1891.

A letter was read from the Town Clerk of York, conveying a cordial invitation by the Corporation to the Association to hold a Congress in that city during the summer.

Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A., exhibited a gilded bronze cup or vase, the work of Peter Archambo (1720-50), found, a few years ago, concealed in the rafters of the "Golden Cup", 12 Coventry Street, Haymarket, when undergoing repair.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a fragment of a fine Roman tessellated pavement found not far from Cirencester, showing the rough concrete bedding overlaid with finer grouting previous to the arrangement of the pattern-cubes of various colours.

The Chairman exhibited a large series of Romano-British antiquities recently found in London during excavations on various sites. The objects, chiefly of small size, consisted of fragments of pillar-moulded glass vessels, bone skates, bronze keys, and *fibulae* and *styli*, rings, chains for securing slave-children, and bone handles of unknown use.

Mr. H. Prigg, of Bury St. Edmunds, exhibited the following objects, which were found within a limited area on West Stow Heath, near Bury St. Edmunds, and not very far from the site of the extensive Anglo-Saxon cemetery to which reference has on more than one occasion been made in the pages of this *Journal* (vols. xxxiii, p. 268; xxxvii, p. 152).

Specimens of the ware found in and about a Roman potter's kiln examined June 1890. They consisted of portions of a shallow bowl resembling a soup-plate, of from 9 to 11½ in. diameter, in fine grey, buff, and brown pottery, having their flat rims ornamented with slips of various colours in oblique lines, vandykes, and intersecting circles; also parts of two smaller and deeper cups or bowls, in fine light red pottery, ornamented externally with circles and lines of darker slip. Mr. Prigg remarked that this ware, both for form and ornamentation, was entirely new to him in the district.

In the same kiln, which was the fifth discovered on West Stow Heath, ampullæ of large size, in buff pottery, were also fired. The age of the ware was indicated by the finding, in the ashes of the kiln, of two small brass coins of Constantius of the *Gloria* type.

A series of objects of domestic use, etc., found in the numerous rubbish-pits intersected in the recent work of leveling the Heath, nearly all of which appeared to be of Saxon age, from the many fragments of characteristic pottery, etc., discovered in them, viz., a bronze, winged fibula, 5 in. long, of the usual Anglian type; the curved handle of a comb, in bone, with iron rivets, and decorated with incised lines and concentric circles; a delicately formed comb-case of thin plates of bone, 5½ in. long by a little under 1 in. in breadth. It is ornamented with marginal, incised lines and concentric circles, singly and in groups. A bone spindle-whorl, 1½ in. in diameter, bearing similar ornament; two stout pins of bone or ivory, pointed at both ends, and finely polished. They are respectively 6½ and 3½ in. long. Two pin-cers of polished bone; and an arrow or lance-head of stag's horn, hollowed to receive the shaft; a slickstone of some slaty rock, triangular, with a curved edge; a small hone or rub-stone; and a much discoloured, rough-edged arrow-point of flint; four examples of clay loom-weights, part of a deposit of sixteen found in a more or less broken condition, further on the Heath, at about 18 in. below the surface. They vary from 3¼ to 4¼ in. in diameter, and from 1¼ to 2 in. thick; roughly circular, nearly flat on their lower, but rounded off on the upper, surfaces. Each has a central hole, 1¼ in. in width, and are formed of pottery of a coarse, friable kind, ruddy in colour. Most of them exhibit grooves on the margin of the central hole, caused, no doubt, by the friction of the cord by which they were attached to the warp-threads in weaving, to give them the requisite tension. Similar ob-

jects, in baked clay, have been found elsewhere in England and in the pile-dwellings of Robenhauseu and Wangen.

Mr. Prigg also exhibited one of those remarkable, decorated balls, formed in a hard cement, of four colours, of which only a few examples have hitherto been found in this country. An extended notice of these curious objects will, it is hoped, appear in the *Journal*.

The following communication from Mr. T. H. Cole, of 59 Cambridge Road, Hastings, was read :—

“Towards the end of January, the masons engaged in fitting up a tablet to the memory of one of our medical men, Dr. Gabb, in St. Clement's Church, came upon a singular discovery, which it seems suitable to communicate to the British Archæological Association.

“The tablet was to be placed on the wall of the north aisle of the church; and it was found that a large flint stone in the face of the wall was loose. This was accordingly removed, when it was seen to occupy and to bar the entrance to a hollow in the wall, about eight inches high, eight inches wide, and about two feet deep; and in this was found a skull. Dr. Shorter, a medical man, the churchwarden, who was with me, gave it as his opinion that it was a man's. Part of the lower jaw was wanting, but portions were found which had perhaps fallen off, and there were several teeth more or less decayed. The mason gave it as his opinion that the skull must have been placed there at the time the wall was built, as there was a slab over the cavity that could hardly have been introduced later.

“The church was originally on another site; but the old edifice being undermined by the sea, was destroyed in 1236. In 1286, a piece of ground was granted to the Abbot of Fécamp, to enable him to build a new church of St. Clement's at a safe distance from the sea. This church was accordingly built; but hardly any trace of the architecture of that period is visible. This is perhaps accounted for by the circumstance that the town was destroyed by fire on several occasions between 1360 and 1380 by the French; and this church in particular having suffered was rebuilt in the latter year. The style accords with this date, being very early perpendicular. Therefore, the skull may have been placed in the wall at this time, 1386.

“Have similar occurrences been met with; and if so, does any particular meaning attach? The Incumbent, the Rev. H. B. Foyster, has ordered the skull to be replaced, with a document stating the circumstances under which it was discovered. There were also the remains of an iron knife, so decayed that it gave way to the slightest touch, and was in fact already in pieces.”

A letter was also read from M. Marius Surgard, of St. Médard-en-Galles, near Bordeaux, relating to recently excavated remains of the earliest period of the English domination in Aquitaine. They consist

of horseshoes, golden and copper ornaments and clasps, a knife, spear-head, keys, dagger-handles, and a spur.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a Lambeth-Delft china syllabub-vessel recently found in the Borough. It bears the initials and date, c¹s 1667. Mr. Way also exhibited a flint ball of unknown date, and a Massachusetts shilling. *Obv.*, MASATHVSETS IN; *rev.*, NEW . ENGLAND . AN . DOM . 1652 . xii.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited seven old Dutch tiles bearing a variety of devices, from a house in Whitechapel Road, and a whetstone.

The Rev. Harry Baber, M.A., Vicar of Ramsbury, Wilts., read a paper on "Sketch of the Parish of Ramsbury." It is hoped that it will be printed hereafter.

Mr. J. H. Macmichael read a continuation of his paper on the Mediæval Trade-Signs of London. This was illustrated with several drawings of great merit by Mr. Barrett, and it is hoped that this also will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 18th MARCH 1891.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

R. B. Barrett, Esq., Towyn, Santos Road, Wandsworth, was duly appointed to be Hon. Corresponding Member.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To W. George, Esq., for "Thomas Chatterton and the Vicar of Temple Church, Bristol", A.D., 1768-1770; "Richard of Cirencester on the Ancient State of Britain"; "Handel's Messiah, when first performed in Bristol"; and "The de Chedder Family of Bristol and Cheddar." By W. George.

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," Second Series, vol. xiii, No. 11.

" " for "Archæological Journal", vol., xlvii, No. 188, 1890.

" " "The Journal of the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland." No. 4, vol. i, Fifth Series, 1890.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock exhibited a collection of Roman and mediæval fictilia, including Samian vessels stamped OF VITA and CARA . . . , green glazed and buff glazed fragments; a spout-mouth in form of an animal's head, finely glazed, from Bucklersbury; and a carved wood chair-leg, perhaps Roman, found with a hollow stick at a great depth, with Samian fragments.

Mr. J. H. Macmichael exhibited a Horn, and read the following notes :

THE SNEESHIN-HORN.

The Scotch snuff-mull or "sneeshin-horn", made generally from the small end of a tup's horn, but sometimes of wood, is remarkable for its extraordinary capacity compared with that of the ordinary snuff-box, and seems to have been a development in this respect, hand-in-glove with the excess of snuff-taking which characterised the growth of the custom in Scotland, where it is vulgarly known also as the "snuff-mill", the latter word, says Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary*, being radically derived from the Icelandic *mel-ia*, to beat. The etymology of the word, then, is not to be sought in the Gallic "Maoll", a mull, a promontory, as the "Mull of Kintyre"; or, perhaps, the wish of the Highlander might be traced to it, who desired nothing more in life than a Ben Lomond of snuff and a Loch Lomond of whiskey. The tobaccoist's Highlander is generally represented with this horn-mull in his left hand; and one instance of this occurs outside a tobaccoist's shop in Tottenham Court Road. Mr. H. Syer Cuming has been so good as to lend for inspection the example upon the table. Any one who ventured to use this mull would probably become the victim of a practical joke as a reward for his temerity, for attached to it is a formidable iron, tweezer-fashioned, bifurcated implement, seven inches long, each prong terminating with a snuff-spoon, the bowls of both spoons being perforated in accordance with a later refinement in the custom, for the purpose of rendering inhalation of the brain-refreshing pungent more easy. But the vicious character of the joke is painfully evident when one attempts to press together the two parts forming the handle, for each part has a hole through which a sharp point at once penetrates the fingers which hold it. As the mull was of common use, they are seldom seen otherwise than quite plain; but if a person of consequence carried one, says Mr. Fairholt, a variety of small articles were attached, namely, a hammer, a bodkin, a rake, and a hare's foot for brushing particles from the nose.

A communication was read on the

COMPOSITION OF A ROMAN MORTAR FOUND AT GLOUCESTER.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.

During the summer of 1890 a tessellated pavement was unearthed while excavating for the foundations of the new Guildhall at Gloucester. A small piece of the mortar under this tessellated pavement was submitted to a chemical analysis. It was fairly hard and thoroughly hydraulic, and when examined under the microscope it was found to consist of a white, or rather pink, coloured matrix, cementing together fragments of burnt clay (crushed bricks, tiles, or pottery) on puzzolana of a bright red or reddish brown colour, and

rounded grains of pure colourless quartz-sand, very much resembling the standard cement-testing sand from Leighton Buzzard, or some coarse sea sands derived from quartz rocks. The sand was quartz, not flint. The matrix consisted almost entirely of carbonate of lime with a very small trace of hydrate and a little magnesia.

The following is the empirical analysis :—Lime, 11.20 per cent. ; magnesia, 1.82 ; alumina, 12.92 ; oxide of iron, 6.58 ; silica (pure quartz sand), 26.71 ; combined silica, 21.04 ; sulphuric anhydride, trace ; carbon dioxide, 8.62 ; water, 10.60 ; alkalies, 0.51.

The water present was nearly all, if not all, hygroscopic, and was readily given off. The rational composition of this and other ancient mortars can only be to a very great extent mere guess-work, and every one may have a different theory.

Was *puzzolana* used in the manufacture of this and other ancient Roman mortars found in this country ? This is an interesting question, but difficult to be answered.

The *puzzolana* found in the neighbourhood of Puteoli, near Naples, is the product of volcanic eruptions, and has this composition :—Silica, 45.56 ; alumina, 14.24 ; lime, 8.94 ; magnesia, 3.90 ; oxides of iron and titanium, 11.02 ; alkalies and volcanic substances, 5.70 ; water, 10.64.

When the Romans extended their sway into Germany they found deposits similar to those at Puteoli, to which the name of *trass* has been given, and these quarries near Bonn have been worked ever since that period. *Trass* or *tarras* is of volcanic origin, like *puzzolana*, and gives indications of having been thrown out by the burning mountain of Eifel.

Did the Romans import *puzzolana* or *trass* for the manufacture of mortars in our island ? In 1888, Mr. John Spiller, F.C.S., examined the mortar in the fine piece of Roman wall discovered when the foundations of the new Post Office of St. Martin-le-Grand were excavated. He published the result of his labours in the *Chemical News* (vol. lviii, p. 289), and he suggested that perhaps the Romans used a *puzzolana* in compounding their mortar. Mr. Spiller was led to form this conclusion because he found nearly 11 per cent. of soluble silica. It might, however, have resulted from long contact of plain sand and lime. It is interesting to note that a sample of mortar from the square Roman bath at Bath contained fully as much silica as the mortar from the Roman wall found in London.

Dr. Fryer also announced that an interesting discovery has recently been made in the south porch of St. Mary Redcliff Church, Bristol. On the east side of the inner doorway it was noticed that a large stone in one of the niches had evidently been inserted for the purpose of

filling up a hole in the wall. This was removed, and it is now evident that this is the place where the bowl of holy water formerly stood. It appears to have rested on a small pillar, which still remains beneath. There is no evidence to show when the bowl was destroyed.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a collection of miscellaneous objects recently exhumed in the Borough. Among them some Samian fragments repaired in Roman time by leaden rivets; a golden-coloured glazed bowl, small glass bottle containing quicksilver; spoons, coins of Domitian and Antoninus, styli, needles, a small red ware cup with incised ornaments, and an elegant Greek *œnochoe*, yellow ware.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited sketches of—1, a stone tablet formerly in Inner Temple Lane, Fleet Street: at present deposited in the Stores of the Inner Temple. The sketch was made in 1844. The tablet measured about 5 ft. by 3 ft., and bore these initials and date, T. E. P., 1657, with a shield placed between. These initials are those of the Treasurer at that time, viz., Edmund Prideaux. I am indebted to H. Lawrence, Esq., Sub-Treasurer, for the following information as to Edmund Prideaux: "Edmund Prideaux, of Ford Abbey, Thorncombe, Devon, second son of Sir Edmund Prideaux, Bart., a Bencher; M.A. Camb. and Oxford, July 1625; adm. 1615, called 1623; T. 1648-59; M.P. Lyme, 1640-53; Commissioner of the Great Seal; A. G. Postmaster-General; Recorder of Exeter. 'A good Chancery man.' Died Aug. 19, 1659."

2. A cut red brick tablet formerly at 3 King Court, Minorities. The house on which this tablet was placed was pulled down in 1881, when the railway-line was made between Aldgate and the Mansion House. At top was a semicircular pediment, and in the middle of the tablet, under the pediment, these initials, W. I. F., 1695, a heart being placed between the letters I. F. At the sides were sprays of foliage. A small stringcourse was underneath.

Mr. C. Davis exhibited some silver coins of the City of Zutphen.

Mr. Macmichael concluded the reading of his paper on the Traders' Signs of London.

Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper entitled, "The Acquisition of Lothian by Northumbria"; by Miss Russell. It will be published hereafter in the *Journal*.



Antiquarian Intelligence.

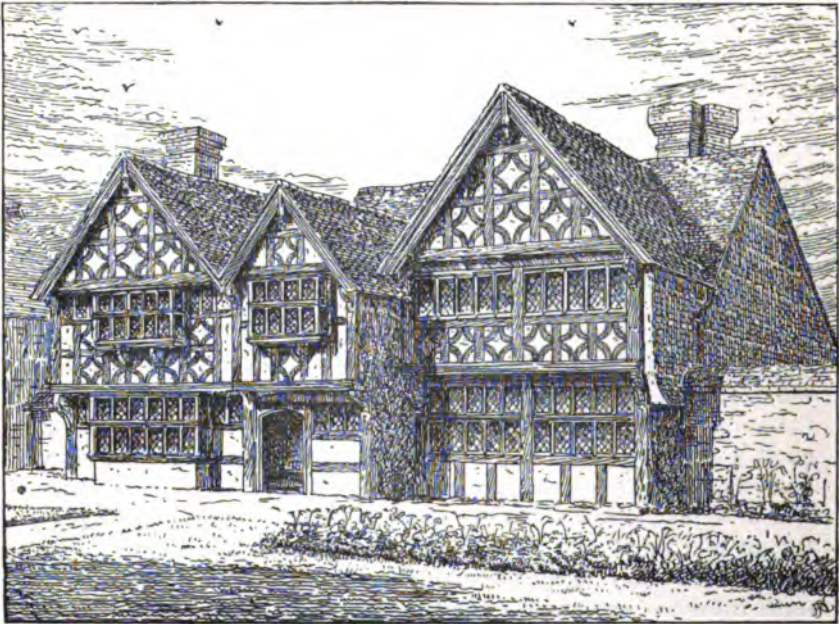
Stafford in Olden Times. By J. L. CHERRY. (Messrs. J. and C. Mort, Stafford.)—This is an attractive book, consisting of a reprint of extracts and articles upon historical and antiquarian subjects which have appeared from time to time in the *Staffordshire Advertiser*, and illustrated with drawings, sketches, and photographs. Few incidents in the mediæval history of this important town have, we think, escaped the notice of Mr. Cherry, who has put together the material which he has gathered in a lucid and interesting manner. Among the points which recommend themselves most prominently as contributions of value to archæologists are Mr. C. Lynam's architectural account of St. Mary's; the descriptions and illustration of the font at St. Mary's; the Mayor's mace; the extracts from the bailiffs', mayors', and churchwardens' accounts, in the seventeenth century; the charters, arms, and seals of the borough; the civil war; St. Chad's Church; the ecclesiastical history of the parishes; and the Saxon and Norman coins struck at Stafford, written by Dr. Hildebrand and others, here engraved for the first time. Many of the paragraphs which the editor has gleaned from scarce periodicals and other sources, are quaint and ludicrous. No one can peruse the volume without thanking the editor for such a dainty selection of extracts, which gives a faithful picture of the doings of the citizens and denizens of this ancient borough in the middle ages. The book is effectively produced, and the plates are evidently drawn by a skilled hand.

The English Re-discovery and Colonisation of America. By JOHN B. and MARIE A. SHIPLEY. (Stock, London.)—If the theories and arguments, which are set forth in full detail in this little work, are sound and beyond refute, we must reject the discovery of America by Columbus as a myth, contrary to ascertained facts. It would be interesting to know what the American geographers and historians have to say upon these points. The authors may rest assured that, if their reasoning is correct, the Americans will not be slow to cast aside the "dishonest pretender" Columbus, and set up Leif Erikson, of A.D. 1000, in his place. We fear, however, that there is another side to much that has been advanced in this nicely printed little volume, which the general antiquary will peruse with pleasure, even if he fails at last to be converted to the authors' views. If Leif Erikson, the Iclander, really discovered America at the date alleged—which is quite possible

and reasonable—nothing practically useful came of the fact; and Columbus, whether he was the first European discoverer or the second, was, at any rate, the first to give a definite value to the means of reaching the American shores. “Vixere fortes ante Agamemnon”, was a sentiment which will forcibly apply to this case, as to many others wherein it is sought to supplant the popular belief in heroes, or discoverers, in favour of a more remote predecessor in the same path.

Old Cottage and Domestic Architecture in South-west Surrey, and Notes on the Early History of the Division. By RALPH NEVILL, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A. (Second edition: Billing and Sons, Guildford.) Mr. Nevill has done good service, with his pencil and his pen, to the antiquary, by exploring the south-west part of Surrey county, and preparing careful descriptions and drawings of the old timber-frame cottages and mediæval dwellings, and noting various details of domestic architecture to be met with in that district. And he has made his examination not one day too soon, for, he tells us, quite a number of his subjects have been destroyed or altered since the issue of his book, especially in that representative town, Godalming, which has contributed numerous examples to the series. The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with antiquarian and architectural details; such as date, style, and plan; the framing, chimneys, roofs, doors, and windows, and so forth. The date of those buildings appears to be for the most part of the latter half of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century; a period when cottage-building was going on very extensively, not only in that part of the country under notice, but generally in England. Naturally, the plan of the oldest cottages was a rectangle, containing one room on each of two floors, and probably a survival of a far older method of constructing a dwelling-place than we have any remaining examples of. A solid straight flight of stairs cut out of an oak-tree points, again, to an ancient, almost pre-historic, prototype; and the newel stair may perhaps speak of a period when our remotest ancestors utilized hollow trees, and climbed up inside them by fixing a gyrating series of steps, the only possible means of arriving at the top. The timber framing, or “post and panel” work, has been carefully studied by Mr. Nevill, who devotes a chapter to the explanation of its varieties. He deals also with the chimneys and roofs, discriminating the early and the later forms, and analysing their construction and proportions. The very large number of illustrations in the second part, which are artistically drawn, and have their antiquarian characteristics properly brought out, without that obscure, uncertain touch which so frequently mars amateur sketches of minor country and domestic architecture, will be found to reproduce very effectively all the desired details of moulding, etc.

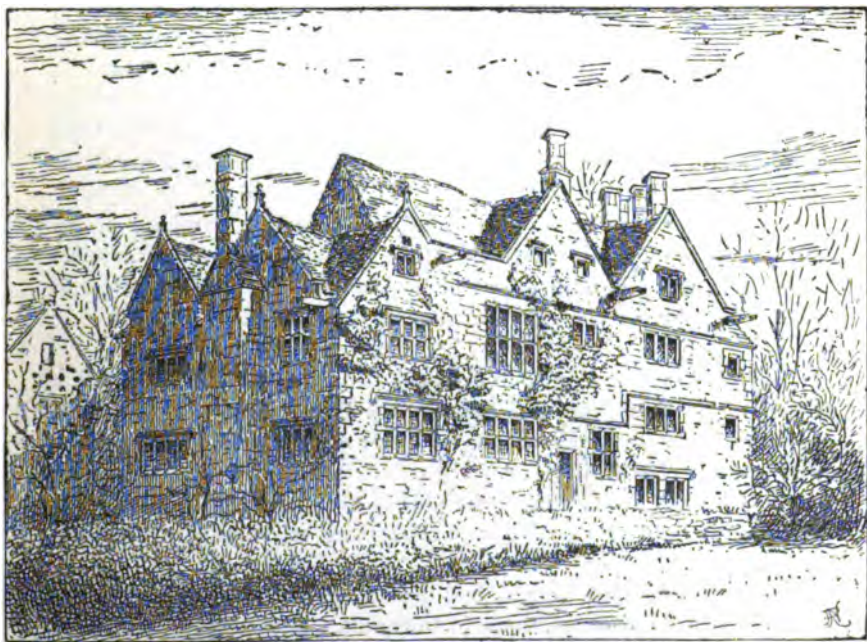
Many of the Surrey villages have contributed charming specimens of the timbered manor house and cottage which Mr. Nevill loves to delineate, and does delineate so prettily. We give one example—that of Great Tangley Manor, which may stand as a specimen of the numerous examples with which the book is replete. The third part is devoted to the history of early settlements, before the Romans, during the Roman occupation, and during the Saxon rule. Some of the remarks which are founded on philological and etymological derivatives are not altogether in harmony with the present science of place-names, as, for example, that the word Litchfield commemorates a Saxon battle



Tangley Manor.

(p. 123). It has been lately shown that the usual connection of the word with *Lic* or *Lichoman*, a copse, is erroneous, and that the true signification of the first member of the name is *Loitcoit*, one of the cities of Britain mentioned by Nennius. The derivation of the name of Woolavington seems to be more reasonably derived from *Wulfafing-tun*, the settlement of the descendants or votaries of *Wulfaf*, than connected, as Mr. Nevill suggests, with *Wool*=hill.—Mr. Nevill's companion volume on the Stroud District and Golden Valley, in Gloucestershire, Cottage and Domestic Architecture, is a work of a similar character, and illustrates many a nook and corner forgotten by those writers on the subject who have preceded him. Here stone buildings seem in a

great measure to take the place of the timber-frame houses of Surrey. Owlpen Manor House and Moor Hall, Stroud, views of which have reached us, are excellent specimens of the kind of buildings which are to be met with in the West of England; and the volume contains over fifty views, many of which, like those of Surrey, have appeared in the *Builder* of 1889 and 1890. We trust that the hope of seeing many other parts of the country eventually illustrated in the same way will be realised. This is an attractive subject, and in many respects a new branch of archæology, for it is replete in a wealth of details, which, if not of the very highest order, yet are well worthy of that comparative



Moor Hall, Stroud.

and appreciative study which the author has evidently brought to bear upon them.

Testimonial to Mr. Thomas Morgan.—On the retirement of Mr. Thos. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., from the office of Honorary Treasurer, on account of ill health, some of the members were desirous of presenting him with a testimonial as a memorial of his services to the Association for many years. Mr. W. H. Cope, F.S.A., V.P., undertook the task of collecting the names of subscribers, which we have been requested to announce, viz. :—

1891, Jan. 1.—W. de G. Birch, Esq., F.S.A., 10/6; W. Grover, Esq., F.S.A., 10/6; R. Rabson, Esq., 10/6; W. Payne, Esq., 10/6; C. Lynam,

Esq., 10/6; G. Lambert, Esq., F.S.A., £1/1; G. Patrick, Esq., £1/1; Col. Bramble, 10/6; J. Bush, Esq., 10/6; C. Pranker, Esq., 10/6; J. Roget, Esq., 10/6; Dr. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A., 10/6; B. Winstone, Esq., 7/6; J. Dix, Esq., 10/6; John Reynolds, Esq., 10/6; B. Nathan, Esq., 10/6; W. Roofs, Esq., 10/6; Thos. Blashill, Esq., 10/6; Ernest Baker, Esq., F.S.A., per G. R. W., 10/6; Cecil Brent, Esq., F.S.A., 10/6; W. E. Hughes, Esq., 5/; Col. G. Adams, F.S.A., per G. R. W., 10/6; A. Brent, Esq., 10/6; R. Douglas-Lithgow, Esq., F.S.A., 10/; J. M. Wood, Esq., per G. R. W., 10/6; Arthur Cates, Esq., 10/6; Allan Wyon, Esq., F.S.A., 10/6; T. F. Peacock, Esq., 10/; G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., 10/6; W. F. Laxton, Esq., F.S.A., 10/; C. H. Compton, Esq., 10/; J. F. Mould, Esq., 10/6; R. Howlett, Esq., F.S.A., 10/; E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., 10/6; Sir H. Dickenson, per G. R. W., £1/1; Sir G. Edwards, per G. R. W., 10/6; Rev. Curteis, per G. R. W., 10/6; Canon Sparrow Simpson, per G. R. W., 10/6; R. Burnard, Esq., per G. R. W., 10/6; J. H. Grain, Esq., per G. R. W., 10/; W. H. Rylands, Esq., per G. R. W., 10/6; W. H. Cope, Esq., F.S.A., £4 : in all, £26.

The amount thus received was expended in the purchase of an antique silver inkstand, which, after the engraving of a suitable inscription recording the object of the testimonial, was presented to Mr. Morgan by Mr. Cope, in the name of the subscribers, in January.

The Oldest Inscribed Stone in Cornwall.—At the last year's Visitation Court of the Archdeacon of Bodmin, the Rev. W. Iago urged careful preservation of seemingly useless old stones upon which the lettering had become almost illegible. He pointed out that what one person could not read, another might be able to decipher, and some of these old records proved valuable and interesting when properly investigated.

He mentioned that he had just discovered the very oldest inscription yet found upon any stone in Cornwall. It occurs on the face of a block of blue elvan used for the support of coffins in the eastern entrance of Tintagel churchyard. Being acquainted with all the most ancient inscriptions hitherto recognised in the county, he finds that this one, although it consists of only a few dim letters, surpasses them all in antiquity and historical value. The stone is of the class rightly or wrongly called "miliary". The Roman milestones, or military columns, usually gave much information about the contemporary ruling power. The Tintagel block is of this character. It is "the stone of Licinius", who reigned over the Roman empire, including Great Britain, A.D. 307. From Professor Hübner's great work on such memorials it appears that hitherto no stone of Licinius has been brought to light in Great Britain; the discovery of this will, therefore, be specially hailed by antiquaries and students of history. The

letters are, IMP . C . G . VAL . LIC . LICIN., which stand for "Imperatore Cæsare Galerio Valerio Liciniano Licinio." This Emperor had married the sister of Constantine the Great, and ruled with him. His great brother-in-law afterwards put him to death, and reigned alone.

The stone next in age in Cornwall, to which a definite date can be assigned, is that at St. Hilary. It is thirty years later, and bears the name of Constantine Junior, the nephew of this Licinius. It is understood that Mr. Iago, who is Honorary Local Secretary for Cornwall of the Society of Antiquaries, London, will contribute an illustrated account of his discovery to the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*.

The Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Centuries. Collected and drawn by PERCY G. STONE, F.R.I.B.A., 16 Great Marlborough Street, London, W.—The work will be issued in small folio form, and will consist of four Parts,—I, Ecclesiastical Architecture; II, Domestic Buildings,—East Medine; III, Ecclesiastical Architecture; IV, Domestic Buildings,—West Medine; and be illustrated by over one hundred full-page, measured drawings of buildings of the Isle of Wight. To be accurate, the perspective sketches are all set up from *measured plans*, and in the letterpress all information has been rejected which cannot be authenticated, the object being to publish a work that shall be as comprehensive as possible on a subject that has been curiously neglected since the days of Worsley, Englefield, and Tomkins, in the end of the last century. Three hundred copies only will be published. The price of the *complete* work, which will be issued in four Parts, will be two guineas.

Among the subjects illustrated are—Quarr Abbey; the churches of Arreton, Binstead, Bonchurch, Brading, Brighthstone, Calbourne, Carisbrooke, Chale, Freshwater, Gatcombe, Godshill, Kingston, Mottistoun, Newchurch, Niton, Northwood, St. Helen's, St. Laurence, Shalfleet, Shanklin, Shorwell, Whitwell, Wootton, Yaverland; brasses at Arreton, Brading, Calbourne, Kingston, Freshwater, and Shorwell; sepulchral monuments at Brading, Carisbrooke, Freshwater, Godshill, Mottistoun, Shalfleet, Shorwell; pulpits at Shorwell, Newport, Whitwell, and Brighthstone; tracery at Arreton, Binstead, Shorwell, Freshwater, Shalfleet, and Calbourne; the manor-houses of Arreton, Mottistoun, Woolverton, Stenbury, North Court, West Court, Yaverland, Sheat, Merston, Chale, Swainston, and Billingham; Castles of Carisbrooke, Yarmouth, and Cowes.

Isle of Wight Heraldry.—Mr. Henry D. Cole, of Winchester, has commenced the issue of *The Heraldic Bearings of the Families and Residents of the Isle of Wight, as borne by their Ancestors*, which promises to

be a valuable contribution to heraldry. It will be of great interest, for the Island families are scattered over the world; some of them are among the most ancient in the kingdom, for the Oglanders, Worsleys, Urrys, Hearnys, Roaches, and others, can trace descent from the time of the Norman Conquest. No such collection has ever been published, for Berry's *Hampshire Genealogies*, published in 1833, contains particulars of only a few of the Island families. There are few so well qualified to carry out this work as Mr. Cole; he has been engaged for over fifty years in the collection of materials, and has a collection of genealogies and heraldic bearings, which he contemplated publishing long ago; influential support in the undertaking was secured, and the list of subscribers included H.R.H. the late Prince Consort; but the expense of reproduction was at that time so great that it had to be abandoned. The work has now been again taken up with every prospect of being carried out. It will be issued in about ten monthly parts, at half-a-crown, each containing the arms of about ten families.

Part I contains those of the families of Simeon, Roach, Kirkpatrick, Oglander, Gibbs, Smith, Leigh, Dennett, Blake, and Urry. Of these, the progenitors of the Roaches, Oglanders, and Urrys, "came over with the Conqueror." Sir William Roach was Lord Mayor of London in 1540. It will be of interest to many to learn that the Empress Eugenie's mother was a member of the Kirkpatrick family, which family, as the name indicates, is of Scotch descent. The arms have been drawn, and we hope that Mr. Cole will meet with adequate support in his effort.

Memorials of Old Chelsea; a New History of the "Village of Palaces". By ALFRED BEAVER.—Chelsea, in Saxon times, was a place of royal and ecclesiastical importance; and though, for some centuries succeeding the Conquest, its annals are meagre, in Tudor times the place chosen by Sir Thomas More for his home, and by Henry VIII for the nursery of Princess Elizabeth, became rapidly favoured. Mansions arose until the village became the aristocratic suburb of the metropolis, as the Strand had been in earlier times. For nearly four centuries leaders of men and thought made Chelsea their favourite abode, and thus the place is intimately associated with most of the stirring events of their times. But its history appeals to a wider circle than that of the student of biography and political history. Its Theological College, Royal Military Hospital, Botanic Garden, Porcelain Works, pleasure gardens, mulberry gardens, and nurseries, give it a remarkable diversity of interest very unusual in so small a place.

Since Thomas Faulkner's work was written much new matter has come to light. The author has obtained valuable information clearing up points on subjects little known, and pains have been taken to ren-

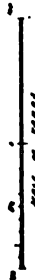
der the memorials accurate. Nothing has been taken on trust, everything has been verified point by point; and it is believed that the history will commend itself alike to the general reader, the resident in the district, and the student of topography.

The work is very fully illustrated, and will have a copious index. It will be handsomely printed on good paper, large quarto, in 18 monthly Parts, price 2s. each; but to subscribers in advance, 1s. 6d. Those desiring to secure the work should give their names to the publisher, Mr. E. Stock of Paternoster Row, early, as there are 500 copies only. 50 copies will be printed on large paper, price £3 3s. for the entire work.

The Surnames and Place-names of the Isle of Man. By A. W. MOORE, M.A., with an Introduction by Professor RHYS. (Stock, London.)—The pleasures of contemplating the meaning of names, whether of persons or of places, are always very great. We all take an interest in ascertaining what they mean, and fixing—perhaps not always very accurately—a signification which may appear to be appropriate. Proper names, however, as Professor Rhys points out very truly, present the most difficult problems of glottology which can be suggested; and this is especially the case with a people like the Manx, whose country has sheltered a large variety of nationalities in ancient days. Mr. Moore, whose profound knowledge of Celtic philology is well-known, has in this work contributed a great store of sound learning to the elucidation of these problems, and much that he has put on record will endure, notwithstanding the general truth of the assertion that it is the fate of every one who writes on Celtic subjects to have to be constantly revising his views. This, says Professor Rhys, is the inevitable condition of every man except him who thinks that he has done learning. The author has, with attention to systematic arrangement, divided his subjects into two chief classes, (1) surnames, (2) place-names. The surnames comprise those of Celtic origin, derived from Biblical and hagiological names, such as Kewin, from Mac Eoin = John's son; Kissak = MacIsaac = Isaacson; Gelling and Lewin = Giolla Eoin = John's servant; Collister = MacAlister = Alexander's son, and so forth. Names of purely native origin, which compose the next subdivision, are more numerous, and perhaps more interesting. Among them are Quine, Quyn = MacCoinn = the son of Conn of the hundred fights, one of Ireland's greatest legendary heroes; Cain = Cathan's son; Conelly = Conghalad's son; Moore = O'Mordha = Mordha's descendant, etc. To these succeed surnames of Celtic origin, from trades or occupations, as MacCray = MacCraith = the weaver's son; Clegg = MacLiaigh = the leech's or surgeon's son; descriptive nicknames, as Kerd, the artificer; and names

denoting nationality, as Cretny = MacBretnagh, the Welshman's son. Another chapter handles names of Scandinavian origin, such as Cottier = MacOttarr; Crennell, Reginald's son; Scarff and Scharf, from Skarð, a mountain pass; etc. Another branch is that of exotic surnames, obsolete Christian names, and nicknames, as Bill-Hommy-beg-Tom-Moar, i.e., Bill the son of little Tommy the son of big Tom, and others equally quaint occur in the records. The place-names are divided into simple, compound, diminutives, substantives, adjectives, and so forth, but we have not space here to give examples drawn from each class. The reader who is interested in these things will derive a copious fund of knowledge from the large variety of words brought to his notice in this valuable contribution to nomenclative science: and the capital indices make this all the more easily available for research.

PLAN OF," TO ILLUSTRATE
MR. BRUTON'S PAPER ON THE WALLS.



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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1891.

THE TOWN WALLS OF OXFORD.

BY E. G. BRUTON, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Read 10 July 1890.*)

IN the consideration of this subject allow me to first direct attention to the map which I exhibited, and to explain that it was a tracing from the ten feet to the mile survey of the city issued by the Ordnance Department, and that the lines of the existing wall were marked on the original map by the officials of the department; those lines I coloured red upon the tracing.

From these points I have made an extension of the other lines of the walls, using such other evidences as I could obtain; some of them I have found in city records and some in earlier published maps, but have only used those I could put confidence in.

I have for some time been obliged to withdraw my confidence from the map of Oxford published by Agas. It is dated 1578, but the map itself contains internal evidence that it was not issued until ten years later. This I maintain is proved by the following extract from the Englished version of the verse, "he thinks the City now in hiest pride, and would make sheow, how it was beste be seene, the thirtieth yeare of our most noble queene."

To get at this date we have but to add thirty years to the date of the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and as her sister Mary died in 1558 we get 1588, a later date by ten years than that given in the title.

This internal evidence then becomes important, because Agas shows the walls at Smith Gate as standing complete in 1588; while the extracts, by Turner, from the city records contain this passage—

"1585. *For serching a foundation of the Towne Wall at Smythe Gate.* Hit is agreed at this Councell that Mr. Chamberlains shall cause the foundation of the Towne wall to be searched by Tolderveys, that hit may be known unto the Warden and Fellowes of Martyn College that they have no right to any howse or grounds within the same wall."

It may be of interest to make a further extract from *Turner's Records* with regard to the "Tolderveys", near whose premises the Chamberlains were to search. The Chamberlains at this period were John Whyttingham and John Dewe. Toldervey's was probably a shoemaker's business house; perhaps situate in what is now known as "St. Helen's." A shoemaker, named James Toldervey, was admitted to the freedom of the city in 1563, and in the Council books, under date of 1575, on the 3rd of November,

"Yt ys ordered and agreed att thys Councell that William Aldeworthe, William Fernesye, Thomas Cossam, James Toldervey, and William Williams, showmakers, of thys Citie, be commytted to the pryson of Bochardo as by the commandment of thys howse, and theire to remayne untill they humblye submytt themselves, and confesse theire greate contumacye and disobedyngs w^{ch} they have commytted agaynst Mr. Mayor and the state of thys Citie. And untill they brynge into thys howse theire two severall books of ordynance confirmed by the Justice of Assizes, to be sene and perused by thys howse in what poynts they be repugnant to the lyberties of thys Citie, or oppressyve unto the citysens thereof, and that the foresaid William Aldeworthe, William Fearnesyde, be from hensforth dyscharged and put from the worshipfull companye and socyetie of thys howse."

This certainly shows that the Corporation exercised great authority over the guilds of the period, and because they refused to submit their books those persons, who were probably the masters and wardens of the guild, were committed to prison. How long they remained in durance does not appear. Probably submission was made and they were released.

The point here is that pictorial evidence delineates the

wall as complete and finished, even to its battlements, in 1588, while documentary evidence in city records show that three years previously the wall had so entirely disappeared that its site had to be searched for by excavations.

A further difficulty had also arisen by the same means : Agas depicts an octagonal building which Antony Wood calls "Our Lady's Chapel," and closely attached it to the city wall, and from that kind of evidence it got to be called a bastion. It is said by Thomas Hearne that "Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, commonly called St. Edmund, founded the Virgin Chapel in Oxford,¹ as I find by a letter of the University of Oxford to the Pope, in an old MS. in Sir Edward Dering's library, lent me by Mr. Austin, which MS. contains matters about Canterbury."

I have closely examined it inside and out, and have to my satisfaction positively proved it to have been a detached building, having moulded bases on all its sides, and octagonal-shaped buttresses which would have afforded a ready means of scaling and of ascent had it been near the walls. I have, therefore, had to reject the views of Agas at Smith Gate. As I explained at the Castle this afternoon, his evidence as to the Mound was also unreliable. He carries, as my enlarged drawing will show, a pallisade up the mound. This must be rejected also on military grounds, as it would assist the enemy rather than the defenders, and must have been drawn from ignorance.

Among the illustrations on this subject are enlarged views from engravings in the *Essays on Military Architecture in the Middle Ages*, by Viollet-le-Duc; these have been prepared in my office. They are simply to show how the engineers of that period were accustomed to adapt themselves when threatened with an attack; it then occasionally became necessary to find means of strengthening portions of their work, as the circumstances would seldom

¹ "The Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary is the second house northwards from New College Lane.....Some remains of its antiquity are still visible, particularly the sculptures over the late entrance, representing the Virgin with attendant figures." (Ed. Dr. Bliss. 8vo. Lond., 1869.)

allow of the entire length of their fortifications being made so complete. I hope I have made this intelligible by showing how the system may be applied in strengthening the defences of the Castle. This is simply a matter of antiquarian interest—it has been adopted at Cardiff Castle by the late Mr. Burges for the Marquess of Bute; but in these days of improved ordnance, when a military engineer can reduce to powder the strongest masonry from a base ten miles distant, such appliances are of no practical value. The large map shows the lines of the wall as observed, or conjectured, by the Government staff, under the direction of the late Captain Ferrier, who held the office of secretary to the Oxford Society.

I propose to commence by first considering the walls surrounding the Castle. Unfortunately we are left somewhat to conjecture as regards the northern boundary. The earliest evidence we have is to be found in the map of Agas, which is dated 1578. He shows us six square towers and one of octagon shape which he apparently places upon the mound. Peshall (Wood) tells us there was a round tower, and, as I read Agas's map, the tower shown is not intended to be placed upon the mound, but beyond it, the mound being between the spectator and the octagonal or *round* tower. There is most certainly some confusion here, and I believe the solution will be found in the assumption that he intended to depict the round tower which Wood describes, according to Peshall (1773), as seen over the mound. Though Agas has been supposed to have placed his tower upon the mound, he has carried his fence clear of it. Had he intended to show the tower upon the mound, he must have shown his fence running into it on one side and emerging on the other, whereas he carries it clear. This fence is simply a palisade, and not a stone wall, therefore, if it existed, was most probably a temporary erection of later date than the period we are considering. But there is one fact we should not lose sight of. Agas shows the moat as enclosing the mound, which I maintain must have been the case. No military engineer would have left an elevation of that nature for an enemy to establish his position upon, and that having the mound in existence he was bound

to *enclose* and fortify it. We know a fatal mistake arose at the Castle of Berkeley through the proximity of an elevated building, and that the castle was taken by the enemy having established himself upon the church tower; therefore I maintain the surrounding moat most conclusively shows the entire mound was within the fortifications. The water shown by Agas is little more than a ditch, but the sloping banks fully indicate a moat. Agas's map is what is known as a bird's-eye view—which is a view drawn from an inaccessible point, and is merely developed from a plan by what is called projection. The artist has to obtain his knowledge by intuition or by sketching the parts depicted from various elevations, and fitting them together in the best way he can. If alterations of the nature he has shown were ever existing they may have been made at a later date. Our next authority in point of time is Loggan, and his map is a century later; he also makes the moat to enclose the mound, but the fortified wall, shown in Agas, had then been removed on the northern side, though he shows the round tower, described by Wood, in the position I have adopted. He certainly enclosed the plateau on the top of the mound with a wall, but I think no one will maintain that wall to be a fortification! In Loggan's time it would appear there was a road through the Castle. Probably that was a necessity of the time, now superseded by the New Road. The next evidence we have is the book published by King, called *The Vestiges of Oxford Castle*. He appears to have read Agas in a different sense to myself, and to have carried his wall over the mound. I think I have exhausted the arguments against this, and justified my reading to be the only one we can, with sufficient reason, accept. From the Castle I propose to conduct the Society along the town walls, taking the northern side and proceeding eastward. Between the Castle and the North Gate, Agas shows three bastions, and within the memory of most of us they have been visible; now there is only one fairly complete, with portions of a second, the third was removed at the building of the Methodist Free Church. The North Gate need scarcely detain us, except that I cannot accept the one-sided arrangement shown in the map attached to the

early history of Oxford.¹ I doubt not that we may read Wood literally when he says, "this was the strongest gate of the city, as indeed for good reason it ought, having no river before it, as the others had. It was well strengthened on each side with a strong, bulky tower, and backed with another gate, both well fenced, especially the outermost, with a portcullis to let down before, as also a military engine erected over it," etc. The only point I wish to establish is the double towers, which I doubt not were north of D'Oilli's tower, and the doorway from the belfry led on or into it. It was long before I could reconcile myself to the breaking out northwards of the line of wall where it passed St. Michael's Church, and it is now supposed this was an addition of the fourteenth century. The bastion called the Martyrs' Tower was then probably erected. The vellum book belonging to the city is here also of use, as it shows the line of division between the leases in Broad Street and those in Ship Street, and this coincides with the line of the wall.

I think now all is smooth sailing until we arrive at Smith Gate, where I am forced to the conclusion that the Lady Chapel was not only outside the wall, as shown by Agas, but was also outside the moat. Agas does not show any moat round the town walls; it had probably been filled in before his time. Here I would direct attention to my sketch, which shows existing remains, and the restored buildings of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Wood, speaking of Our Lady's Chapel, says, "it stood within the wall adjoining, or north of, Smith Gate opposite to Cat Street, a stone rotund edifice." The words, "within the wall adjoining", have been held to mean the town or city wall. I submit the words are not necessarily to be so interpreted. The wall adjoining may merely mean that it had an enclosure of its own, and, as we are distinctly informed by the author, it was "on the north of Smith Gate and opposite to Cat Street." Smith Gate must, therefore, have been to the south of it, the consequential result being that it was outside the moat which separated the chapel from the gate. I have made inquiries of those under whose direction the surface-water

¹ James Parker, Hon. M.A. Oxon. Oxford Hist. Soc., vol. iii.

drain which runs from Broad Street to Cat Street was laid only a few years ago, and the result exactly confirms my theory. In the excavation they crossed two walls—the one adjoining the Lady Chapel was of moderate substance and strength, while the other, which was found in the position indicated on my copy of the Ordnance Map, was much broader, and of so much greater strength, that it presented increased resistance to the tools of the workmen.

I do not wonder at the confusion which has arisen ; it is very hard to realise the presence of the moat after all the changes that have taken place, and it requires quite a strong effort of memory to keep the fact before one. If then it be admitted that I have established my theory that the Lady Chapel was without the gate, let us consider what the admission amounts to. Wood calls it “a stone rotund edifice”; in other words it is a round church. In my restoration I have supposed it had an apse, but this I cannot establish ; unless we may suppose Wood’s descriptions of “a faire wrought Neech on the East side” can be taken to mean an apse, “where stood the Picture of Our Lady, and with other figures very neatlie carved in stone and continued there until the Rump Parliament destroyed them. Over the Chapel door was a salutation of the Virgin Mary by the Angel.” The figure of the said Virgin, cut in stone, with two or three obscure figures are yet extant. The remainder of the walls as far as the East Gate are too well known to need description. In the gardens of New College we have some very fine examples of the bastions very nearly in the original condition, except that the floors and roofs have been removed. Wykeham made certain restorations, but there are no small examples of original work, and even the copings of some of the thirteenth-century work remain. The East Gate was removed in the last century, but beyond it, in King Street and in Merton College garden, we have remains of bastions. The fortifications on this side do not appear to have been nearly of the same strength as those to the north, doubtless because on that side the land could be so flooded that the same strength of wall was unnecessary ; yet Wood tells us there was a strong tower, if not two, at the south-east

angle, which was subsequently removed, and the stones used to repair Millham Bridge and the way leading to it. There was also a tower next to Christ Church, when the wall was extended to enclose St. Frideswide's Church. Another tower stood near the West Gate. We have again reached the Castle, and so completed the circuit of the walls.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. PARK HARRISON said it was well known that the Britons had only earthworks; but the Saxons at the time of the Conquest had advanced further, and had stone fortifications. He thought there was no difficulty in accepting the view that St. Peter-in-the-East tower was Saxon; and as to St. Michael's, there was a great and shameful doubt about it, but there was evidence of its being Saxon. He thought it was a disgrace to Oxford not to have advanced more in the study of these early times. The Saxons obtained a knowledge of architecture from the Romans and Romano-British. He could not understand why they could not accept the idea of stone walls; and a rough stone wall at the top of the Mound would have been very useful; and if there was one, there must be some traces, and that could only be decided by excavation.

The Warden of Merton expressed his thanks for the interesting paper that had been read, and suggested one or two questions that had occurred to him. He would premise what he had to say by stating that he did not profess to be a real archæologist, or to have any knowledge of military engineering. It had always struck him as very curious that the Castle should have been hitched on to the walls, or the walls hitched on to that. He should like to know whether it was a known thing in fortifications, that the castle should be an outlying fortification itself, attached, as it were, to the walls instead of being enclosed within them. One would have expected that the walls would have gone right round the Castle. Following Mr. Bruton round on the north side, and coming to the east, he thought it must be admitted, as regarded Smith Gate and the Lady Chapel, that the line of the wall would be more uniform on his (Mr. Bruton's) supposition than it would be if they supposed it to have included the Lady Chapel, as it would have bulged out considerably to the north. He did not know what evidence there might be of fish-ponds by the enlargement of the moat north of New College Gardens; but there was a great artificial lake represented on Mr. Clark's Map.¹ He thought it would be desirable if some excavation could be made, to see if there were any traces of a wall under the present wall. They must admit that the place would have been much stronger if there was a wall

¹ Wood's *City of Oxford*, ed. by Andrew Clark, M.A. Oxford Hist. Soc., vol. xv.

on the top ; but if there had been such a wall, they would have expected that with all the work which had gone on all round, the foundations would have been disclosed. There had always been a doubt in his own mind about this. In the reign of Henry III the founder of Merton obtained the right of bringing a water-course from the Cherwell through the court of St. John's Hospital (now Magdalen), for the purpose of cleansing the court of his own College, and he had never been able to clear it up, in his own mind, whether that water-course did not enter underneath the City Wall on the east side of Merton Gardens, and flowed through the Gardens and part of the large quadrangle, and issued out into what were called Merton Fields. There were on the south side of Merton traces of an old archway, and there were those who supposed that the water-course found its way out there. It was an interesting question whether there was any indication of such a possible opening to the south and east through which a water-course could have been brought ; for although they had no reason to suppose that the conduit was made in the reign of Henry III, it was positively on record in the archives of the College that it was made in the reign of Edward II ; but they had never been able to trace the course of it. There was an old doorway, blocked up, very near to the bastion in the Gardens, which must have been a sort of postern, but on which he could throw no light at all, and he was curious to know whether it was for the private use of Merton, or for the use of owners of private properties which now constituted Merton College. He had never understood how the City Wall enclosed what they called the Cathedral. It was very difficult to him to picture the course of the wall west of Merton. There were traces of a bastion in the Garden of Corpus ; but they lost all traces of the wall until they got to South Gate, on the site of Pembroke College ; and he had never been able to understand whether it really swept round, and enclosed St. Frideswide's, and passed behind what was the hall of Christ Church. Although the question he was going to ask did not bear on the old walls of Oxford, he should like to mention it because he had heard nobody else speak of it, and it was the evident fact, as it appeared to him, that there must have been some kind of fortification to the north. As they went down St. John's Road to Port Meadow there was to be seen a very marked rising of the ground on the left, and there were traces of an old wall. Whether there were ever fortifications there, he had never heard any one conjecture, but there was a remarkable elevation which was evidently not natural, and he thought it would be interesting if any light could be thrown upon this and the other matters he had mentioned.

Mr. Hurst said, as regarded the wall round the Castle, he went to Castle Street when the excavations were being made for the foundations of the Salvation Army building, and saw a deposit of about 25 ft. wide, of sloughy, black mud, and the workmen said they

had met with it further up the Street. He granted that it was a very peculiar style of fortification, and it might have arisen from the immense amount of stream-water passing through Oxford. Where they saw one stream passing between the Castle and the East Gate, there were at one time five. They knew there had been a water-course in Turl Street, because the bottom had been found; and another where Mr. Beaumont's house stood, near the Market. The other three he had spoken about at different times. As regarded a fish-pond near New College, on the east, excavations had shown that there was such a place, totally distinct from the gorse or ditch, being 40 or more ft. from it. They had still existing accounts of rent having been paid for fish-ponds in George Street. As to the water-course to Merton, he thought the maps indicated that there was a pretty good branch of the river up to it, and Agas's Map showed a road leading to the postern. As to the walls near the Cathedral, it was known that they were taken away; and with regard to St. John's Road, there was a great use of gravel in the middle ages, and it was excavated there to a very great extent. What looked like a fortification was where some houses or something else stood, and the excavations were carried short of these.

Mr. Drinkwater said the new buildings at Christ Church were erected in 1863, almost entirely upon the bed of the old city ditch, and the foundations had to be carried to a depth of something like 22 ft. There was a large quantity of black mud, and bones, skulls, and other things were found.

Mr. Bruton remarked that he believed the well in the Mound was sunk after the earth was thrown up.

The Chairman expressed his obligation to Mr. Bruton for the manner in which he had brought to bear a great amount of research and learning on an interesting subject. He hoped the paper would be printed in the Society's *Journal*, and that there would be some indications given of the water-courses mentioned by Mr. Hurst. He thought very probably the peculiar position of the Castle and surrounding walls might have arisen, to a great extent, from the nature of the ground to the eastward, where the city stood, and the necessity of preserving the keep there. The Castle was really the keep of the outer vallum in which the city was built, and they might consider the whole city as the Castle-yard. He proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Bruton, and hoped it would lead to a more extended knowledge on the subject.

Mr. Bruton thanked those present for the kind reception which they had given him.

On Thursday, 10th July, on the occasion of the visit to the Castle and Keep, Mr. E. G. Bruton, F.S.A., conducted the visitors to the Castle Mound. He said he believed it was thrown up early in the tenth century, and he exhibited a section of the large scale Ordnance Map of the city, and pointed out the line of the moat which surrounded it. He also exhibited an enlarged copy of the Map of

Agas, as far as it applied to the Castle, dated in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and explained where he thought Agas had erred by showing the line of fortification as crossing the Mound.

The chamber which covers the well was next visited, and was considered to be of the early part of the fourteenth century.

The crypt, which was formerly a portion of the Church of St. George, was next visited. The *Osney Annals*, under the date of 1074, say it was founded in Oxford Castle by Robert d'Oilli the first, and Roger de Ivry.¹ This crypt was rebuilt early in the present century, and a plan of it is given in King's *Vestiges of Oxford Castle*.

The great tower, with walls 9 ft. in thickness, was built by Robert d'Oilli the first, in 1071.²

The tower of St. Michael's Church, which adjoined the North Gate of the city fortifications, was next visited, and for this Mr. Bruton claimed an earlier date than has usually been attributed to it. It has been supposed to have been erected by Robert d'Oilli or Oilgi in 1070; but to accept this we must assume that the balluster-column windows which were used by pre-Norman builders were continued into the eleventh century. Some fourteen years ago (he continued) he had been professionally consulted, and had to tie up and secure the walls of the tower, and then he found a lower tier of windows than those which then appeared on the exterior face. These had balluster-mullions, as may now be seen, and on opening them he found the masonry had been so little affected by weather that it could only have been exposed to it for a very short time. The imposts to the columns had broken, and the conclusion at which he arrived was that for military reasons the raising of the tower became a necessity. This consequent addition caused the imposts of the balluster-columns to crack, and he supposed the only remedy which then occurred to the builders was to build up the openings. Mr. Bruton had the windows reopened, and the centre springing of the arched heads temporarily removed, when, putting two pieces of iron back to back, and bolting the bottom flanges to the old imposts, he was enabled to make strong that which before had been weak, and thus the original imposts became strong enough for the work they had been originally designed to perform. The consequence is, from being so long covered up, those lower windows look newer than those of the same character above them. This raising he attributes to the Norman Governor, and thus accounts for the late date given to the building of the tower; and, therefore, supposing the lower windows were only blocked because the imposts broke, the character may well have been repeated in the upper ones.

Some of the members ascended the tower, and inspected the means employed in tying together its fractured walls. Mr. Grover especially commented upon the skill which had been used in making secure that which previously was insecure.

¹ *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, vol. iv, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

MEMORANDA RELATING TO WITNEY, OXON.

BY REV. W. FOXLEY NORRIS, M.A., RECTOR.

(*Read at the Oxford Congress, 1890.*)

I HAVE drawn up the following notes, chiefly relating to the succession of the incumbents, and have much pleasure in laying them before the Association. The old register-books of Lincoln diocese, in which Witney parish was formerly located, are either lost or destroyed; but fortunately the late Mr. Langford, of Eynsham, made notes from an abstract of Dr. Hutton in the British Museum (Harley MSS. 6950-6954, 5 vols. 8vo.). From these and other sources the following information is principally derived.

The Rural Deanery of Witney, or Witteneye, is almost the same now as it was in 1291, but Coggs and Southleigh have been added.

RECTORS.

A.D. 1209. HUMPHREY DE MIDLIERES.

1219. DIONYSIUS, an Italian. In 1221, Peter de Orival, or De Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, obtained the King's warrant to buy of Robert de Arsic, Baro de Coges, *mairemium*, or timber for building, from his woods at Coggs, "ad domos suas de Witeneye emendandas et reedificandas"; and this Bishop's clerk was Dionysius, Rector or rather Parish Priest of Witney.

1227. HELIAS DE GLOVERNIA, or Elias of Gloucester.

1236. WILLIAM DE S. MARIE ECCLESIA. About this time the reconstruction of the old Norman church of St. Mary, Witney, according to the rules and taste of the thirteenth century, probably took place. The round arches disappeared, except the north porch. There is also to be observed one little external window, now in the north-west aisle, and headings left in the nave.

1243. RALPH GROSSETETE, or Greathead. Was he a relative of Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln from 1235?

1250 (?). PETER OF CAMBRAY, a foreigner, who resigned the benefice in 1261.

1261. WILLIAM VACCE, called Rector, 1310-16. "W. Vacce Senior in Curiam Romanam admittebatur, Id. Febr. 1310." He was succeeded by his nephew or son, in 1310, of the same name.

1318. THOMAS DE TESSUNT (? Teffont), on 17 Kal. Dec., to the vacancy caused by Vacce's resignation.

1336. JOHN DE ORLETON, presented by Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Winchester, 1334.

1338 (?). JOHN DE TRILLECK, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, 1344. In the year 1339 Thomas Blanket set up looms in his house at Bristol. It was enacted that no wool should be exported,—an Act to protect him. (Rym., *Fœdera*; Rapin's *History*, p. 419*n*.)

1340 or 1344. ROGER FOLYOT.

1359. ROBERT DE WYKFORD.

1362 (?). JOHN DE CRICKLADE, who was transferred, by exchange, to Wythendon in the diocese of Worcester.

1369. JOHN FRENCH, who exchanged with

1370, JOHN DE KELLESEYE, Rector of Uppingham. About this time the north transept was probably lengthened, and sumptuously adorned with the present decorated, flowing-traceried window, and the mural monument below it. Perhaps the two recumbent figures represent the Seneschal of the episcopal Palace at Witney and his wife.

1378. NICHOLAS DE WYKEHAM, presented by William de Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester (perhaps a relative); Archdeacon of Winton, then of Wilts, and Warden of New College.

1414. JOHN FRANKE.

1422. ROBERT CATRYK. Was he son of John Catryk, Bishop of Lichfield, 1415?

The total height of the spire of Witney is said to be 156 ft.; total internal length, east to west, 126 ft.; ditto, north to south, 126 ft.; length of nave, 60 ft.; breadth of nave, 21 ft.: with aisles, 48 ft.; tower, each way, 27 ft.; length of chancel, 39 ft.; breadth of chancel, 39 ft.; length of north transept, 48 ft.; breadth, 18 ft.; with aisles, 33 ft.; length of south transept, 51 ft.; breadth, 18 ft.; with aisle, 33 ft.; Wenman's Aisle, 26 by 19 ft.

C. 1440. JOHN LASEBY or LACEBY, Rector or Vicar.

C. 1442. WILLIAM ESCOUR.

C. 1446. JOHN CORKYS.

C. 1475. LIONEL WODEVILLE. Perhaps brother of Elizabeth Wodeville, Queen of Edward IV. Was he not afterwards Bishop of Salisbury?

1479. EDWARD CHEYNEY. Clerestories of Witney Church built. Thomas Richards, *als.* Fermour, Senior, of Witney in Oxfordshire, by will 9 Sept. 1485, leaves "my body to be buried in the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, in the Church of Witney; to the altar in the chancel of the B. Virgin in that church, for my tithes forgotten, £20; to the building of the aisle of the B. M. Magdalene in the said church, called Cassewell Aisle, £20; to Emmote, my wife, £200, with my goods and utensils in my house at Witney; to William, my son, 200 marks, and all my lands in the villages of Coggs and Burford; to Alice, John, and Elizabeth

Wenman, children of Emmote, my spouse, by Henry Wenman, to their marriages, £10 7s." Proved 8th Nov. 1485. (Abstr. in Collins' *Peerage*, iv, 374.)

1502. NICHOLAS WESTE, LL.D., afterwards Bishop of Ely (1515), in whose vault within the Cathedral at Ely now rests the body of the late Bishop of Ely, J. R. Woodford, *ob.* 1885.

1515. GEORGE GRAY.

1519. RICHARD LYDNER. This is the last Rector of Witney of whom there is any notice in the Lincoln Registers. His arms used to be emblazoned on the east window of St. Mary's Church, with the inscription, "Pray for y^e soule of Mr. Richard Lydner. A° Dñi 1523."

South aisle of the church built.

1524. EDWARD STEWARD, LL.D. At this date we find there were also a vicar (Wareham) and a chaplain.

1555. ROBERT WORALL, Vicar (?).

1558. RICHARD ALDRYGE, Vicar (?).

1559. ROBERT DEBANCKE, Vicar (?).

1564. EDWARD WALKER, Vicar (?).

1567. MORGAN JONES, Vicar (?).

1570. JOHN WYTHYS, Vicar (?).

1578. RICHARD SMYTH, Vicar (?). The Witney Parish Registers begin at 1578. Vols. 1 to 6 are very irregular and defective.

1581. JOHN UNDERHILL, B.D., Rector. He was also Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. He became Bishop of Oxford in 1589.

1614. HUMPHREY AYLSWORTH. R. Burgess, incumbent, *temp.* Charles I.

1635. ROBERT HILL. In the ninth year of Charles I the rectory and vicarage appear to have been united.

1638. Dr. THOMAS JACKSON, Rector of Witney, Dean of Peterborough, and Prebendary of Winchester. He was a great scholar and metaphysician, a friend and admirer of Fuller. He seems to have been the writer of one of the odes prefixed to Fuller's *Holy Warre*.

1640. THOMAS WHITE.

Commonwealth lecturers intruded.

1655. RALPH BRIDEOACK. Said to have gone to Burford to receive Speaker Lenthall's confession, and to have given him absolution just before his death, 3 Sept. 1662. He became Bishop of Chichester in 1679. (See Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, ii, col. 205.)

1663. GASPAR CAUN.

1676. RALPH TRUMBULL, D.D.

1708. RICHARD DUKE, also Prebendary of Gloucester and Proctor in Convocation; an eminent scholar. Inducted into the rectory, 1 Oct. 1708, by Henry Holloway; rector of Wilcott, Oxon.; or, according to another entry in the Register, instituted to the rectory, with the vicarage annexed, 18 Sept. 1708; inducted 29 Sept.

1711. ROBERT FREIND, D.D., Head-Master of Westminster

School, Prebendary of Windsor, Canon of Christ Church. His portrait, and also a fine marble bust, may be seen at Christ Church, and there is a marble mural tablet to his memory in St. Mary's, Witney. The burial of his son Charles is entered in the Church Register under 17 July 1736. He was succeeded by his son,

1751, WILLIAM FREIND, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, Rector. His mural tablet is also in the church. He rebuilt the Rectory House with excellent stone, and placed in it an inlaid oaken staircase of parquet-work. Over the dining-room door, in the hall, there is a medallion bas-relief of his head. He was buried at Witney, 11 Dec. 1766.

1767. ROBERT MULSO, B.D.

1771. HENRY PHIPPS WESTON, inducted by Rev. D. Burroughs, B.D., 7 Nov. 1771.

1795. Hon. E. LEGGE, LL.B., son of the Earl of Dartmouth. He became Bishop of Oxford in 1815.

1797. ROBERT BARNARD, a non-resident, said to have visited Witney only once a year. Rector of Lighthorne, Warwickshire.

1834. CHARLES JERSAM. He restored the roof at a heavy expense to the parish, and erected the churches of Holy Trinity, Woodgreen, and St. John, Curbridge. Eminent as an extemporaneous preacher.

1853. RICHARD SANKEY, M.A. Schools built on glebe land.

1863. FRANCIS MACAULAY CUNNINGHAM, M.A., Trin. Coll., Cambridge, Rural Dean of Witney, restored the church under the superintendence of Mr. G. E. Street, improved the Rectory House and grounds.

1879. WILLIAM FOXLEY NORRIS, M.A., Trin. Coll., Oxon., Rural Dean, and Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. School built on the Dent in West End. Reredos and windows added by Clayton and Bell. St. Mary's Schools enlarged.



WALLINGFORD.

BY J. KIRBY HEDGES, ESQ.

(Read at Wallingford, July 1890.)

THE history of Wallingford, and its immediate neighbourhood, carries us back to a remote age, and shows a connection, more or less intimate, with the Celtic Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Danes, while in Norman and mediæval times, the town and castle hold a foremost place in the annals of our national history.

There can be little doubt that there was a fortress here in, if not all through, British time, and that the irregular British earthworks were altered and replaced by the Roman rectangular entrenchment, which may now be traced around the town. Some thirty British coins, inscribed and uninscribed, have been found hereabouts, and most of them may be seen in the collection of Mr. Davies of High Street; amongst them are coins of Eppillus, who is said to have reigned over the Atrebates, and of his two brothers Verica and Tuic-omnius; at least so the inscriptions as to the two latter would lead us to suppose.

But another discovery within recent years, adds greatly to the weight of evidence in support of British occupation. Flint implements and weapons by hundreds have been found, more particularly in the neighbourhood of Grimsdyke, on the south-east of the town; some of them are of very rude construction, while others exhibit a gradual advance in mechanical ingenuity—the chipping of some of the arrow-heads is a marvel of skill. Looking at the number and variety of the implements, some of them apparently in an unfinished state, others wearing the appearance of broken tools, together with cores, flakes, and chips, we are led to suppose that this district must have been the site of a large settlement of workers, who carried on here a manufacturing industry of great extent.

According to several authorities a castle was originally

built here by the Romans, which was destroyed by the Danes when they burnt down the town in 1006. That there was a lengthened Roman occupation of the site of the town is evidenced by the number of coins and other Roman relics that have been found in Wallingford and its immediate surroundings. Roman coins have been discovered in thousands, representing, with a few unimportant exceptions, every emperor, empress, and usurper, from the time of Augustus down to Arcadius Honorius, a period of nearly 400 years.

Historical reference to Wallingford in the time of the Saxons is scanty. As a border town on the river, with a ford situated in the midst of a distracted country, it must have had its share in the reverses and successes that attended the movements of the contending armies. In 571, Benson and other adjacent places were gained by the Saxons, and Wallingford, observes Dr. Freeman, must have been taken in this expedition, when Cuthwulf crossed the Thames, and its capture, the professor adds, must have been marked as a bright day in the annals of West Saxon victory. According to the Chronicles of the Monastery of Abingdon, King Offa seized Wallingford as well as Benson, about the year 777, and extended his own Mercian kingdom from this town to Ashbury upon the Icknield Road, but others confine the extension of dominion to the counties of Oxford and Gloucester. In 912 the town was occupied by Edward the Elder, King of the West Saxons, by whom, it is said, the keep was thrown up.

In the reign of Æthelstan coins were first minted at Wallingford, and the Wallingford coinage was continued down to the reign of Henry III.

Fearful excesses took place in and about the year 1013, and Wallingford was again taken by the Danes, but its prostrate condition from the ravages of 1006, saved the inhabitants from further outrage. However, it rapidly regained its importance, and within seventy years was by far the largest and the chief town in the county. In the time of the Confessor it was a royal burgh, in which the King had some sort of royal establishment to which he occasionally resorted.

At the Conquest the possessor of the castle or strong-

hold was the great Saxon thane Wigod, cupbearer and kinsman of the Confessor. Here, within these trenches, the Lord of Wallingford lived in the midst of his vast possessions, and received and sumptuously entertained William the Conqueror, who, after the battle of Hastings and the repulse of Southwark, marched with his army into the territory of his friendly adherent. The festivities lasted several days, and were closed by William giving in marriage Wigod's daughter to his favourite chieftain Robert d'Oyley, who had come over with him from Normandy. The following year the King commanded d'Oyley to fortify the town with a "new castle"; the site selected was the stronghold of Wigod. Eight houses were destroyed in the progress of the work, which was completed before 1071.

Domesday Book is full of information relative to Wallingford; the survey of Berkshire commences with an account of the borough, as the most important possession of the Crown within the county; and among those holding possessions in the borough were King Edward and the Conqueror, Archbishop Lanfranc, several bishops and abbots, and many large landowners whose names are conspicuous in history. One of the largest territorial proprietors mentioned in the survey was Miles Crispin, a powerful baron, who married Maud, the daughter and heir of Robert d'Oyley; he held the honour of Wallingford, and constableness of the castle, in right of his wife, and made the castle his principal seat, and there he died in 1107. On his death the castle and honour remained in right of birth to Maud his widow, who succeeded him as constable, and was called Matildis Domina de Walingfort. Six years elapsed, and Maud was given in marriage by Henry I to Brian Fitzcount, who possessed in her right the castle and honour. He was a great warrior, and when the Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I, came to England in 1139, to prosecute the right of succession of her son, afterwards Henry II, to the throne, he strongly fortified the castle, and broke into determined rebellion against King Stephen, who at once marched to Crowmarsh, a village on the opposite side of the river, and in a meadow there, then and now called Barbican, erected several forts which were strengthened from time to time.

Thus commenced the most stirring epoch in the contest for the Crown, which, for sixteen years, involved the whole nation, and particularly Wallingford, in a dreadful civil war. Attack after attack was made on the castle, but every renewal failed, owing to the strength of the fortress and the indomitable courage of Brian Fitzcount. At length, after some fourteen years, the Earl of Arundel assembled the nobles at Wallingford, and urged an amicable agreement whereby Stephen should enjoy the royal dignity for life, and the succession be secured to the Prince; and these were the main conditions embodied in the treaty of Wallingford, which was virtually settled under the castle-walls.

On the death of Stephen, Wallingford was especially favoured by the grant of a charter of liberties and privileges exceptionally large. This grant was made by Henry II to mark his sense of gratitude to the town for (to use his own language) "helping him to the kingdom". Among the privileges thus granted was that of the creation of a more settled form of municipal government, with a mayor at its head. The date given is 1155, being about thirty-three years before the first mayoralty of London. Well may Wallingford be proud of a civic existence which has lasted for over 700 years.

Soon after the departure of Richard I on a crusade to the Holy Land, his brother, Prince John (afterwards King), allied himself to Philip King of France, planned an invasion of the kingdom, and besieged and took the castle, but it was soon recovered by the barons under the brave Earl of Leicester.

Henry III granted to his brother Richard, afterwards King of the Romans, the castle and honour. It became the Earl's favourite residence, and he kept it up in great magnificence by a vast expenditure. During the absence of the Earl in Germany, the barons, headed by Simon de Montford, Earl of Leicester, succeeded in taking possession of the castle, which was made the residence of his Countess, whom the Earl visited in 1262, with a train of 162 horses which were picketed within the walls. Owing to the breaking up of the conspiracy the castle again changed hands, and again at the Battle of Lewes, when it was surrendered with the town to Leicester, who con-

ducted hither, as prisoners, the King, Prince Henry, and Richard, King of the Romans. An attack on the fortress to release the royal captives followed, and the outer wall, near All Hallows Church, was taken, but the attacking party retired at the solicitation of the Prince, who afterwards escaped by strategical means. Aided by an overwhelming army he flew to arms, and in 1265 the Battle of Evesham was fought, and won by the valiant Prince, with the death of Leicester and his son. The royal prisoners were set at liberty, and the castle was again in the hands of Richard, King of the Romans, on whose death, in 1271, it fell, with the honour and the advowsons of fourteen churches in Wallingford, to his son Edmund, who, in 1272, brought his bride to the castle and gave a magnificent feast there. King Edward I was a frequent visitor.

In 1278 the Earl founded and endowed the collegiate church of St. Nicholas, in the castle.

Edward II, within a month of his coming to the throne, granted the castle, town, and honour, to his favourite and vicious companion Piers de Gaveston; he made him Baron of Wallingford, and loaded him with honours. To celebrate the grant a great tournament was proclaimed to be kept near the castle. The grand gathering increased the jealous displeasure of the barons, still further provoked by the scornful raillery in which Gaveston indulged, and the nicknames by which he characterised the leaders of the party. At length the confederate nobles seized him, and, as he was on his way to Wallingford to meet the King, he was hurried away to Warwick Castle and beheaded.

The King then granted the castle and honour to another of his favourites, Hugh Despenser the younger; and some five years afterwards to Isabella his Queen, but she allied herself to Roger Mortimer, and sacrificed all sentiments of honour and fidelity to her husband. With a foreign army she invaded the country, making the castle her headquarters, and, on the King's surrender, she conferred it on her paramour, who became the Governor. In 1326 she entertained in great state, at the castle, most of the magnates of the land, who at a Parliament, summoned by her in the King's name, declared Edward II incom-

petent to govern. The Prince of Wales was declared King, and Mortimer was made Prime Minister, when his power became as formidable as his actions and intrigues were criminal. The cruel murder of the King at Berkeley Castle followed, and the Queen and Mortimer usurped the regal power for four years, until the hardened rebel was arrested and condemned. He was the first person hanged on the gibbet at Tyburn. The Queen released her interest in the castle, and was doomed to captivity for life.

The castle and honour, which had been held with the Earldom of Cornwall (afterwards elevated into a dukedom) for nearly four centuries, was formally annexed by Act of Parliament in 1335, and settled with other hereditaments on the eldest sons of the Kings of England, to support the dignity. Under this Act the Black Prince acquired the castle, and held it with the honour for upwards of forty years; it was the favourite residence of Joan the fair Maid of Kent, whom the Prince married in 1363. She died of grief at the castle in 1385.

Thomas Chaucer, son of the poet, was Constable of the Castle for thirty-five years, and under his guardianship the affianced Queen of Richard II was placed; while she was kept in the fortress England was lost to her royal lord, and won by his rival Henry of Bolingbroke, Henry IV. Misery and close restraint attended the maiden Queen until she was restored to France in her fourteenth year.

After the death of Henry V, which occurred nine months after the birth of an heir to the throne, the Queen-dowager, Katherine of Valois, the Fair, on whom the castle and honour had been settled by the King, became attached to Owen Tudor, who held the appointment of squire of the body to Henry V, and continued in the same office about the person of the young King. Little is known of her movements, except that she gave birth to three sons successively, and that her connection with the castle terminated in 1428, when the royal son was taken out of her care, and the castle was made one of his summer residences. The following year Owen Tudor was a prisoner in the castle dungeons.

The Suffolk family were Constables of the Castle for a long period; the head of it, the Duke of Suffolk, was

accused of having furnished the castle with warlike munitions to aid the French, to whom it was alleged he had sold the kingdom. He was committed to the Tower and released by the King, which so incensed the people that he fell a victim to popular clamour, and was barbarously murdered. Six days after this atrocious murder the King granted the custody of the castle to the dowager-duchess, and among the captives she received in her character of constable was her old favourite, Margaret Anjou, Queen-Consort of Henry VI, for whose maintenance, during her imprisonment in the fortress, five marks a week were allowed by Edward IV. After five years' captivity her liberation was accomplished by a heavy ransom, and she was conducted from her prison at Wallingford to Dieppe, in January 1476.

In Elizabeth's reign the castle dungeons were used for the enforcement of the injunctions issued by the Queen, whereby Arians and Freewill men were doomed to labour in solitary confinement "until they should be found to repent of their errors".

When the civil war broke out between Charles and his Parliament the castle was repaired and fortified for the King's forces. The defence was committed to Colonel Blagge, and under this intrepid commander every attempt to take it by force failed. Ultimately sheer necessity, for want of supplies, led to articles of capitulation, under which the garrison marched out, more as victors than vanquished, with their horses and arms, colours flying, trumpets sounding and drums beating. Thus the castle yielded in July 1646, after making war for sixty-five days, with the loss of five slain, and being the last castle to surrender except Raglan and Pendennis.

After the castle had surrendered, it became a state prison till November 1652, when an order was issued for its total demolition; and a fortress, which had withstood successfully siege after siege for nearly seven centuries, was almost entirely razed to the ground within seven months.

The origin of the keep is a matter of uncertainty. By some it is supposed that this still great though diminished mound was due to Edward the Elder, King of the West Saxons, who occupied and annexed the town in 912;

others consider that it was thrown up by Ethelfrida, lady of the Mercians, and daughter of the great Alfred. It may be that under the skilful hand of the Normans, a pre-historic defensive mound, or a British barrow, developed itself into the vast keep.

The citadel on the top was approached by long and winding stairs, which led also to several chambers, to kitchens, and to two dungeons. The well, spoken of by Camden as one of immense depth, is on the north of the keep, and a subterranean passage, 4 ft. high by 2 ft. wide, has been traced on the south in the direction of the river.

A very interesting discovery of an Anglo-Saxon seal, comb, and hone-stone, was made in a garden at Wallingford in 1879, at a depth of about 4 ft. Mr. Augustus W. Franks, F.R.S., considered the seal to be one of extreme rarity, and describes the objects as remarkable. They were purchased by him, and presented to the British Museum. Three finely engraved views of the seal are appended to a paper read by Mr. Franks before the Society of Antiquaries in March 1881. The following is an extract from the paper :—

"1. A seal of bone, consisting of a circular disc (one inch and a quarter in diameter) with an oval projection on one side, so that the extreme length is three inches and three-tenths. On one face of the disc is engraved a half-length of a man in profile, to the left. He is bearded, and his outer robe is fastened by a round brooch on the shoulder. He holds in front of him a sword with the point upwards. Legend, ✠ SIGILLVM B (?) GODWINI MINISTRI. On the projecting oval is a carving, in high relief, representing two figures, one holding a sceptre, seated on a throne, with their feet on a prostrate figure, possibly intended to represent Satan. Above them a portion has been broken off, probably a dove; so that the whole would represent the Holy Trinity trampling on Sin. The back of this projecting portion is plain; but on the back of the disc is engraved another seal representing the upper part of a female figure seated on a cushion, and holding in her right hand a book. Her left is extended. Legend, ✠ SIGILLVM GODGYTHE MONACHE DŌDATE. The workmanship appears somewhat different and inferior to the other. On one part is a stain of copper-rust.

"2. A small comb of bone with fine teeth along one side, and coarser along the other. Entire length, one inch and three-tenths; width, one inch and one-eighth. At one end is a small hole for suspension. On one part is a stain of copper-rust.

"3. A sharpening stone, quadrangular in section, and tapering towards the lower end. At the other end is a hole for suspension. Length, four inches and one-tenth."

NOTES ON ST. LEONARD'S CHURCH, WALLINGFORD.

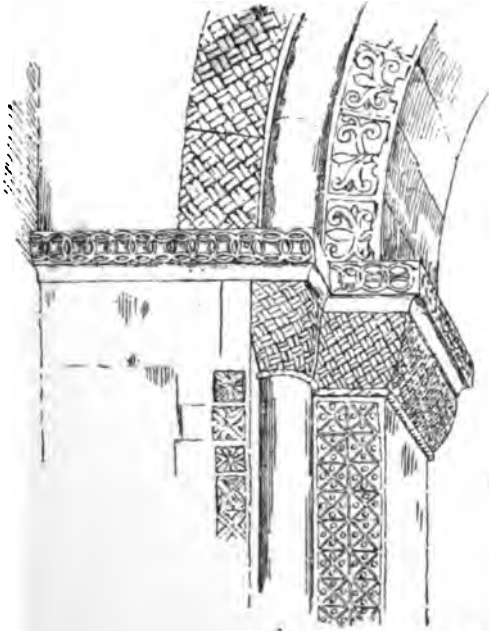
BY REV. W. C. SAYER-MILWARD, RECTOR.

(*Read at Wallingford, 12 July 1890.*)

THE Church of St. Leonard is supposed by some to have been a Saxon church, destroyed by the Danes, and to have been afterwards rebuilt soon after the Norman conquest. In an article in *The Antiquary*, January 1882, on Anglo-Saxon architecture, Mr. John Henry Parker said, "I have seen, perhaps, a dozen examples wherein works of the Anglo-Saxon period have been brought to light by scraping off the plaster in the restorations of the Victorian era. During the recent visit of the Archæological Institute to Bedford I saw three instances of this: in addition to which I have heard or read of other cases in which the surface of the walls, covered with shallow sculpture in a sort of diaper-work, has been found under Norman work. In St. Leonard's Church at Wallingford, in Berkshire, the piers of the chancel-arch are carved with this sort of early and shallow diaper-work, which was brought to light only by scraping off the plaster in the recent Victorian restoration."

The restoration to which Mr. Parker refers took place in the years 1849-50. Before this restoration the church had been repaired and restored in Queen Anne's reign, and opened for Divine Service about Michaelmas 1704, though some slight repairs and repewing had been done in 1685, 1695, and 1700. Previous to this date it is said to have been converted into barracks for the soldiers during the siege of Wallingford, and greatly injured; the south aisle (probably built in the fourteenth century) and original apse having, it is said, been entirely destroyed by fire. In 1704 the apse and south aisle were not rebuilt, but a plain east end wall was erected; and the church then extended to about where the font now stands, terminated at the west end by a gallery, entered from inside the church; the nave and chancel being filled with

WALLINGFORD
CHURCH.

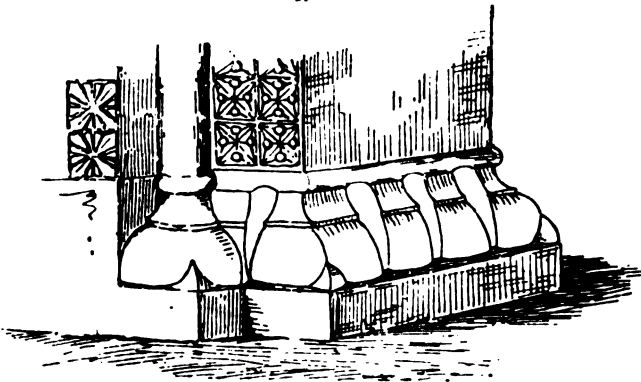


1.



3.

2.



1. Impost of Chancel Arch
looking west.

2. Base of ditto.

3. Blocked Window in
Tower.

high pews : the two chancel-arches covered with plaster, and only little pieces of the beautiful carved work on them peeping through, and a low ceiling extending all along the church.

At the restoration in 1850 these arches were uncovered, and you can see where new work had to be inserted. The two arches exhibit interesting and perhaps unique Norman work of the diaper flat and knob-pattern, which, according to Mr. Parker, is not to be found at Oxford, nor in any other church within the diocese. At the same time the present apse was built on the old foundations, part of these being distinctly traceable outside the church. At this restoration in 1850, the apse, south aisle, and tower were added ; and the graveyard was extended, at the cost of about £1,100, which was defrayed by voluntary contributions. The workmen employed state that charred timbers were found, no doubt bearing evidence of the fire lighted by Cromwell's soldiers ; and that an old doorway on the south side, opposite to the present door, was then removed, and some fresco-work of a flower-pattern, over the first inner arch, and some figures on the south side of the chancel, were discovered ; but that the fresco-work was too imperfect to be restored, and was consequently destroyed.

Within the last few years a doorway has been discovered on the south side of the chancel ; and in the same wall there appear to be traceable two eleventh century windows, which seem to show that the present windows, as they are now placed, are not the original ones.

The church itself is composed (on the north side of the nave, and on the south side of the chancel) of rubble, stones and flint intermixed, and coated with stucco on the outside, the thickness of these walls being 2 ft. 9 in. The hooks for the hinges should be noticed on the centre window of the north side of the nave, inside, and on the end window on the south side of the chancel, outside, there having, no doubt, been shutters there at one time.

This church, with that of St. Lucien, which stood near it, was given by King Henry I to the Monastery of St. Frideswide, now Christ Church in Oxford. The living was formerly in the gift of the Lord Chancellor ; but the patronage is now vested in the Bishop of Oxford. It is

described as a discharged rectory, valued in the King's books at £7 : 12 : 6, with the Church of Sotwell, now made over to Brightwell.

The Register of baptisms, marriages, and burials, commences in 1711. The Vestry Minute Book commences in 1672, and records the annual appointment of two churchwardens from that time; but the Rector's signature is not attached to the minutes till the year 1679, nor does any reference to the Rector previously occur. The names of the Rectors, however, are known from 1299 to 1363, and again from 1634. From 1811 to 1873 the living was held with St. Mary's. The church plate was presented by Henry Fludyer, Esq., in 1812. On the bell in the tower is the inscription, "T. Swain fecit, 1781."

In conclusion I may say that there are two opinions held respecting this church—(1), that the church was not entirely destroyed when the Danes ravaged Wallingford, A.D. 1006, and that some of the old Saxon work still remains; (2), that there is nothing earlier than the Norman period, and that the church was built either by Wigod, who was lord of Wallingford at the time of the Conquest, or by Robert d'Oyley, who married Wigod's daughter. I shall be very glad if the British Archæological Association can settle this question once and for all.

NOTES ON ST. LEONARD'S CHURCH, WALLINGFORD.

BY J. PARK HARRISON, ESQ.

(*Read at the Oxford Congress, 1890.*)

WHEN referring to a back number of *The Antiquary*, last spring, I came upon a letter from Mr. J. H. Parker with the heading "Anglo-Saxon Architecture"; and found that it was written to call attention to some early diaper work on the piers of the chancel-arch of St. Leonard's Church, Wallingford, from which the plaster had recently been removed. Similar shallow diaper, it appeared, had shortly before been noticed by Mr. Parker in Anglo-Saxon churches in the midland counties, more especially on the tympanum of a priest's door at Kirton, in Lindsey, which he believed had been re-used when a Norman doorway was inserted in some older walling.

A visit was soon afterwards paid by me to St. Leonard's Church, and a careful inspection made of the work above alluded to, and very similar diaper on the piers and arch of the sanctuary, subsequently exposed when the chancel was restored, and an apse substituted for a wall which had been built across it at the east end. Unfortunately, all concerned in the work of restoration were either dead or no longer resident in the neighbourhood; so that it was the colour of the stone mainly that told the story of the almost too faithful restoration of old work carried out by the accomplished architect, the late Mr. Hake-well.

Plan of the Church. The original ground plan consisted of nave and chancel, and a semicircular apse, of which the foundation stones alone remain. In addition to the new apse, already mentioned, an aisle has been added on the south side of the nave, and a tower at the west end, having on its north side a small portion of the old walling. All the new work is in the so-called Norman style.

The History of the Church. There is no record of the

foundation of St. Leonard's Church; nor is any document referring to its history, so far as is known, now in existence. From the marks of fire, however, on the stonework, it may be assumed that it shared the fate of Wallingford, and the churches in the district, which were burnt by Sweyn in 1006. Owing to the slaughter of the inhabitants, the town for some time remained in ruins, but regained its old importance in Canute's time, and it may be presumed that the churches would not have been the last buildings that were restored. Consequently, in the *Domesday Survey*, we find that two churches in Wallingford are returned as belonging to Abingdon Abbey; and, although the dedications are not given, there can be little doubt, from the early character of its walls and south window, that St. Leonard's was one of them.

The Exterior of the Church. The walls, which are built of flint, though barely three feet in thickness, as usually the case in pre-Norman work, are without buttresses, and considerably higher than those of Norman churches of the same dimensions. High up, also, on the north side, there are ragstones arranged herringbone-wise, and large flints are used for quoins, instead of stone, at the east end.

On the south side of the chancel careful scrutiny has discovered, under a thin coat of plaster, a Romanesque window, flush with the external face of the wall, and traces of another, which had been destroyed for the purpose of introducing what appears to be a modern Early English lancet, but possibly the copy of an original one. Below this window, and a little to the east of it, a priest's door with a triangular head formed of flints, and supported by two-inch bricks, and oak framing of considerable antiquity, happily escaped restoration, owing, it may be, to its rare construction. The jambs, as also in the Romanesque window, are formed of flints.

In the case of the windows, however, the arch is formed of ragstones, of which only two or three have been shaped into voussoirs. The keystone is a mere wedge, and not exactly in the centre. Another peculiarity is that the arch is turned from centres about three inches below the impost, and its span is wider than the space between the jambs; as in the case of the ancient archway at the east

end of the north choir-aisle in Oxford cathedral.¹ It is probably of not later date than the eighth century.

The stonework of the north doorway has been entirely renewed, but is apparently copied from the old one. It is more than 12 ft. high, or nearly three squares of the width. There are attached shafts with cushion-capitals, and a roll-moulding to the arch. Some old bond-stones on its east side are fire-stained, as if a westerly wind had driven the flames of burning timber in that direction; and there are similar stains also on the east side, upon the window-arch of the chancel.

The Interior of the Church. The only early stonework in the interior of St. Leonard's consists of the remarkable chancel and sanctuary arches, both ornamented with roll-mouldings, springing from recessed shafts, and both with square soffits extending through the remaining thickness of the walls. Round the arches, and as borders to the shafts, are the shallow diapers alluded to by Mr. Parker.

The pattern with the dots or balls occurs in the symbolical picture of the ark in Cædmon's *Paraphrase*,² and the star is used as an ornament on a throne in a picture in Ælfric's Pentateuch, the date of both MSS. being *circa* 1000. The capitals of the shafts, and the deep imposts which range with them, are ornamented with basket-work; and the same pattern is carried round the chancel-arch in place of a label, but flush with the plastering of the wall.

Two other ornamental patterns, one on the abacus of the chancel-arch, and continued as a string, and the other on the west face of the chancel-arch, have not as yet been identified. The ornament with a twisted stem appears also on the capitals at the entrance of the sacristy, where there are well-cut heads (perhaps of a king and queen) at the angles. The work is superior to anything known to have been sculptured by a Norman artist.

One other feature remains to be described, namely, the curious bases of the jambs of the arches, where quarter-

¹ Part of another arch of the same description was detected inside the belfry of St. Peter's-in-the-East, at Oxford, during the visit paid to it by the Association.

² Reproduced in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.

oval mouldings are intersected by narrow wedges, forming hoof-like ornaments, differing in number in each base.

In the case of the chancel-arch there are five divisions on the south side, and four on the north ; whilst on the south side of the sanctuary-arch, there are four, and on the north side only three. Is this an instance of what Mr. Buckler styles "studied irregularity", often noticed by him in Saxon work ?

The Date of the Arches. Since many stones of the arches are fire-stained, and some of the diaper work appears to have been renewed at a date previous to the Victorian restorations, it is less easy to come to a correct conclusion as to the nature of the conflagration to which they have been exposed, than, for instance, in a case like Stow, in Lindsey, where a whole pier has been left untouched since the time when the church was burned by the Danes. If a second fire occurred at St. Leonard's (of which, however, there is no tradition), the arches might still be of pre-Norman date, and possibly work of Canute's time.

SKETCH OF THE PARISH OF RAMSBURY, WILTSHIRE.

BY REV. HARRY BABER, M.A., VICAR OF RAMSBURY,
AND RURAL DEAN.

(*Read 4 March 1891.*)

THE history of this parish can be safely traced back to the year 909. We are told by William of Malmesbury that Pope Formosus sent a letter to England in that year exhorting the King to constitute some fresh bishoprics in the west of England. Accordingly King Edward and Archbishop Plegmund divided the two dioceses of Sherborne and Winchester into five parts, and added, as new bishoprics, Wells, Crediton, and Ramsbury. The Bishops of this last see were called sometimes Bishops of Ramsbury, and sometimes "*Episcopi Corvinensis Ecclesiæ*", and had for their diocese Berks and Wilts. The first Bishop of Ramsbury was Athelstan. The three most important Bishops were—(1), Odo, (2), Siric, (3), Ælfric.

Odo was a Dane, a heathen by birth, spoken of as a young barbarian. Accidentally listening to a missionary he became a Christian, and went home and tried to convert his father. He received a sound flogging for his pains, and was turned out of house and home. He then attached himself to an Anglo-Saxon lord, who sent him to school, and made him a fair Latin scholar, and caused him, after a time, to enter Holy Orders, and ultimately to become a Bishop. But his tastes were strictly military for all that. He had served as a soldier before he was ordained, and certainly on three occasions was found in the battlefield after he became a Bishop.

This warrior-Bishop of Ramsbury was destined to play a higher part. He was called to be Archbishop, and the call came from Dunstan, who never brooked a refusal. This led to a further development of character; what we should call, in these days, "a deepening of his devotional life". He cast off his old traditions, and first became a Benedictine monk, and then was made Archbishop of

Canterbury. As was natural with an impatient man, he at once took up an extreme position, and proceeded sternly with the work of restoration and improvement.

Odo's memory has been much darkened by the part assigned to him in the story of Edwy and Elgiva. Dates show that he died before the greater cruelties were committed. Authentic history declares that he was a man of sound judgment and eloquence, who rendered essential service to the State as a diplomatist.

The third Archbishop, after Odo, was again taken from the see of Ramsbury, viz., Sigeric or Siric. He had held the bishopric of Ramsbury from 985 to 989. He was too much a man of peace, and advised Etheldred to buy off the Danes: hence the odious "Dane-geld". But this brings out a curious fact, that England was noted as an auriferous country. William of Poitiers, describing England, speaks of its "quantity of gold, a treasury of Arabia". Dean Hook speaks of Siric as a learned man and a patron of learning, who collected a valuable library which he left to the Cathedral.

The archæological record of Ramsbury is to my mind chiefly enriched by the memory of Bishop Ælfric. In addition to a Glossary he wrote two Books of Homilies, more interesting to the antiquary and the historian than the divine. His Pascal Homily is often quoted as showing the continuity of the doctrine of the Church of England in reference to the Eucharist. He was so well known as a writer, that whilst he was a priest he was asked by Bishop "Wulfius" to compose for him an episcopal charge.

From Ælfric we learn the history of the seven Orders appointed in the Church, and the services required from each Order. From him also we learn that "the chalice and paten were to be made of pure wood not subject to rottenness."

Ælfric was raised to the chair of Augustine at the death of Siric. Thus, with the interruption of Dunstan, three Bishops of Ramsbury were made Archbishops of Canterbury. I do not know that any other see can claim such a long-continued and intimate connection with the archbishopric.

At the time of the Conquest the seat of the bishopric was transferred, and ultimately settled at Old Sarum;

but after this, the Bishops of that place still continued to reside at Ramsbury, which they did till 1531, when they gave up Ramsbury Manor to Lord Protector Somerset in exchange for other manors.

The Episcopal Registers at Salisbury contain many references to Ordinations held in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Ramsbury; in fact, in the fifteenth century there were more Ordinations at Ramsbury than at Salisbury.

Turning now to the structure of the church, we cannot, of course, at the present day find any trace of the cathedral church that existed during the one hundred and fifty years of the bishopric. That the building was of no great size we may gather from the fact that Herman was so anxious to obtain Malmesbury Abbey for his cathedral church. The bishopric was probably of small value, and must have been ruled single-handed, as we know there was no body of canons or chapter attached to it. The present church at Ramsbury, which is dedicated to the Holy Cross (this being, no doubt, the dedication of the old cathedral, as it was a favourite one with our Saxon forefathers), probably stands, in part, on the old foundations of the cathedral, covering, it may be, more ground than the earlier building. The present structure dates from the early part of the thirteenth or the latter half of the twelfth century, containing examples of the various styles down to the late Perpendicular. The church consists of chancel, nave, north and south aisles, embattled western tower, and south porch. The building measures, internally, 140 ft. 6 in. from east to west, and 66 ft. 6 in. from the north aisle-wall to that of the south aisle. The tower is 67 ft. high from the nave-pavement to the top of the battlements. The Lady Chapel, which is detached on three sides from the church, is entered through an arch in the east end of the north aisle. It measures 23 ft. 10 in. from east to west, 15 ft. 5 in. from north to south.

Monumental History.—The history of the church and parish is greatly enriched by the monuments still existing within the church.

In Dayrell's Aisle (*i.e.*, the old Lady Chapel) there was originally an altar at the east end, led up to by two

steps. The mark of the altar-slab was covered with plaster a very few years ago. The steps and the sacrarium still remain. On either side of the altar is an altar-tomb, both sadly mutilated. The tomb on the north side has the matrix of a brass, a knight and his two wives; probably Sir George Dayrell of Littlecote. In the centre of Dayrell's Aisle there is a very fine altar-tomb robbed of all its brasses.

In the chancel, immediately before the steps, and occupying a special place of honour, there is an unusually large slab of Purbeck marble, 9 ft. long. This originally carried a fine floriated cross with a Norman-French inscription, which is printed in Kite's *Wiltshire Brasses*. I have before me two translations,—one by Kite, the other given me by my friend Mr. Talbot, the well-known antiquary, of Laycock Abbey. With their assistance I translate the inscription as follows: "Under this lettered stone or brass lies William Saint John, parson of Ramsbury; and to make people say a prayer for his soul, we assure them forty days of penance." Kite says:—"This William de Saint John, Rector or Prebend of Ramsbury, whose memorial is thus identified, was living in the year 1322, when he presented to the vicarage. The chancel must, therefore, date back to some considerably earlier period."

On the north side of the chancel is a fine Purbeck marble canopied monument. This is believed to be the tomb of Thomas York. His father was Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1492 and 1501, and lived at Ælthrop (? Hilddrop in Ramsbury). Webb says that "Thomas York, who was Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1523 and 1530, died in 1547. He is believed to have been the builder of a fine old house in Ramsbury, now known as The Rookery." His monument was very probably used as an Easter sepulchre. At the back there is the matrix of a small male figure with a label proceeding towards a representation of the Holy Trinity. This monument is in all its essential features the counterpart of one in Ely Cathedral, viz., that of Lord John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who died about 1471. There is also in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, a very similar monument, viz., that of Robert King, last Abbot of Osney and first Bishop of Oxford, 1545.

Towards the west end of the chancel, on the floor, is a slab of Purbeck marble, bearing date 1522, with a Latin inscription, believed to be the monument of William Grey, Archdeacon of Berks, who desired by his will, dated 1521, to be buried within the chancel of Ramsbury.

In the chancel there are several monuments to the family of Jones. The first is that of Sir William Jones, Knight, who died in 1686: a life-sized effigy, half recumbent, clothed in official robes, and holding a roll in his right hand. He was Attorney-General in the time of Charles II. This monument corresponds in some of its details with that of Bishop Gunning in Ely Cathedral, who died in 1675, the semi-recumbent figure resting on its elbow being the style of the times.

There is also a monument to Mary Eleanor Burdett, with four stanzas of unusual merit. As they were written in 1797, and as Thomas Moore, the poet, speaks in his Diary of his visits to Ramsbury Manor at this time, they may possibly have been written by him.

Under the sacarium is one large vault, which contains the mortal remains of Sir Seymour Pile and his family, and many members of the Jones family. The last burial that took place in this vault was that of the bodies of Sir Francis and Lady Burdett, who were both buried here on the same day, January 31, 1844.

Great Personages who have lived at Ramsbury.—For many years, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, the Bishops of Salisbury occupied their Manor-House at Ramsbury until the Duke of Somerset obtained possession of the manor by exchange with John Salcot, Bishop of Salisbury; but, as Webb shows by an extract from Patent Rolls, “the Duke did not long enjoy his profitable bargain, as, after his trial for treason, most of his North Wilts property, including the manor and part of Ramsbury, was taken away from him and granted to the Earl of Pembroke. This was the first Earl.”

The second Earl is mentioned as having a quarrel with William Dayrell of Littlecote about some trees in 1582.

Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke, and first Earl of Montgomery, had held the office of Lord Chamberlain in the household of Charles I, and was a Privy Councillor. Before the civil war broke out he had been Chancellor of

the University of Oxford, but was deprived of this honour for siding with the Parliament. However, in 1647, by the triumph of his party, he was restored to the chair. He it was who received Cromwell at Ramsbury Manor.

A later Earl of Pembroke sold Ramsbury Manor to one Powell, or Henry Powle, Esq., for £32,000, who shortly after sold it to Sir William Jones. This was the Attorney-General in Charles II's time, mentioned above.

In 1685 Samuel Jones, Esq., gave a silver salver for the use of the Church of Ramsbury. He also gave a new Communion-Table. He died in 1687. It is stated in the Burial Register that he was buried in linen, and paid the fine of £5.

The manor ultimately passed into the hands of the Burdett family by the marriage of the last heiress. It was a very favourite residence of the late Sir Francis Burdett, the father of the present Baroness.

We know also that Sir Bulstrode Whitelock, a lawyer and statesman, a friend of Hampden, Keeper of the Great Seal under Protector Cromwell, who died in 1675, was owner of a house in the parish, at Marridge Hill.

In the parish of Ramsbury there also lived a distinguished family named Pyle, who came originally from Compton Beauchamp. They owned Axford. The first Baronet, Sir Francis Pyle, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Popham, Knight. The baronetcy expired on the death of Sir Seymour Pyle, sixth Baronet, 1761.

In those days there was an old church at Axford. Parts of this church now form a farmhouse. The priest's door and five windows, having their tracery perfect, still remain. The piscina and the old oak roof of the church are there. All this is fully described and pictured in Webb's *New History of Ramsbury*.

In the earliest Register of Burials, 1678, we find a certificate of the burial of Alexander Porter, with the affidavit of Catherine Hawse that the deceased was buried in woollen only, and that this was sworn before Sir Seymour Pyle.

I will only add, by way of conclusion, the following brief mention of the two principal houses in the parish :

1. Ramsbury Manor, the property of Sir F. Burdett, "built probably", says Mr. Money, "some time before

1672, when John Webb, its architect, died." He married a niece of Inigo Jones.

2. Littlecote House. In his address to the Newbury Field Club, Mr. Money described this as "originally the chief house of the Darells." He adds that the mansion and lands passed into the hands of Sir John Popham, Chief Justice to the Court of Queen's Bench, between 1572 and 1607. They are still held by their descendants, though not in a direct line. The present owner is paternally descended from Mr. Leybourne Leybourne, Governor-General in the West Indies, who married Ann Popham, daughter of Edward Popham, Esq., of Littlecote.

This house is remarkable in many ways. It has a magnificent hall, 46 by 24 ft., and 25 ft. high; a valuable collection of armour, and still more valuable collection of portraits.

A full description of each of these two houses, if it could be procured, would be a valuable contribution to the pages of this *Journal*.

THE HORNBOOK AND ITS COGNATES.

BY J. H. MACMICHAEL, ESQ.

THE origin of the hornbook seems to be, like that of the Runic almanack, lost to sight in the dim vista of the past; and the solitary page which was once, *more majorum*, such an important "tool of education", is wrapt in oblivion. The mediæval small-boy no longer trembles at the street-cry of the chapman, "Come buy, come buy a hornbook!"¹ and no melancholy Jaques of to-day would venture to speak of "the whining schoolboy", for the mist of tears through which he once struggled to acquire the rudiments of knowledge has been scattered before the sun of Reading made Easy; a transition beginning, perhaps, with the absurd hornbook of gingerbread, whereby the pupil, as he secured each letter in his memory, was allowed to secure the gingerbread upon which it was figured, where all good gingerbread should go—

"To Master John, the English maid
A hornbook gives of gingerbread,
And that the child may learn the better,
As he can name he eats the letter."²

The origin of this primer of our ancestors, this well-spring of English letters, is not, however, so obscure as to baffle conjecture; and one would be pretty safe, I

¹ *Wit and Drollery* (1682), p. 78. Reading without tears was not the happy lot, it appears, of children in the hornbook era, for it is a noteworthy fact that had it not been for the truant instincts of "the young idea" in often putting a summary end to the irksomeness of his instructions, by hiding his hated lesson-book, the few that are now extant would not have come down to us, for they have generally been found concealed in such hiding-places as wainscotings, floorings, etc., whilst one (engraved in vol. ix of the *Journal*) was found at Middleton-by-Youlgrave, Derbyshire, in the thatch of an old barn. It is to the perishable nature of the hornbook, and its destructibility in the hands of the "scholler", however, that is chiefly owing its exceeding rarity; "a rarity", remarks Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, "characteristic of other printed books, pamphlets, sheets, etc., once issued in large numbers."

² Prior's *Almu*, canto ii, vol. ii, p. 64, edit. 1721.

think, in saying that it dated, in its primary form, from the introduction into Britain of the alphabet by the Romans, when the Latin alphabet and the cherished symbols of Christianity began gradually and protractedly to replace the ancient Runic characters of the heathen Northmen; indeed, the very word "letter" itself points to the probability that the hornbook was originally a modification, for the use of children, of the tablets of wax used by the ancients,—a use which is illustrated in the statue of a Roman officer in the City of London Museum, that functionary carrying, hung at his side, the *tabellæ* or tablets smeared with wax, for scoring with the *stylus*. The derivation, therefore, of our word "letter" from *lino*, *litum*, to smear, suggests, I think, the likelihood of the hornbook having had its immediate origin in the *tabellæ*.¹

The hornbook,² "cross-row", or "absey-book", all three of which terms are employed by Shakespeare, was almost invariably, of whatever material made, from 3½ to 5 in. long, and generally bore the alphabet, followed by a line or so of monosyllables, sometimes the numerals, then the *In Nomine*, and lastly the *Paternoster*. It is a curious circumstance that the earlier ones frequently terminated with three dots, or "tittles", placed triangularly, which were intended to convey to the pupil, after the manner of mediæval symbolism, that as there were three dots, yet but one final period, so there were three Persons in one God. This peculiarity is alluded to at the end of the Song of the Hornbook, set to music by Thomas Morley in 1608.³

To say of a child that "he knows his book" was once a very common expression, as persons advanced in age

¹ "According to circumstances, letters wore, as now, engraved by the Romans upon stone, brass, and other metals, or upon wood (*albo, tabulis*)."—J. D. Fuss, *Roman Antiquities*.

² "he teaches boys the hornbook."—*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act V, Scene 1.

³ "Christes crosse be my speede in all vertue to proceede,

A. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. k. l. m. n. o. p. q. r. s. & tt.

double w. v. with y. ezod. & per se. con per se.

tittle. tittle. est. Amen. When you have done begin againe,
begin againe."—Morley's *Introduction to Music*, 1608.

The "first part" of the hornbook was also set to music "in the key of D with the greater third", by a country organist, in 1795, and dedicated to a city knight.

remember well, and both in this and its current slang form probably originated with the use of the hornbook; its equivalent in France having been "*Savoir sa croix de par Dieu*" (to know one's cross-row or A, B, C). In Somersetshire the alphabet is said to be still called "the criss-cross-lane", and the "Criss", or "Christ-cross-row", was probably the term by which it was known in the middle ages,—a term commonly said to have been so applied because of the cross which preceded the alphabet; but Nares, in his *Glossary of Words*, points out that it is more probably derived from the practice, as depicted in Picard's *Religious Ceremonies*, of the Bishop, at the consecration of a church, inscribing with his staff the Greek and Roman alphabets upon ashes previously strewn upon the floor (in the form of a cross) before the high altar;¹ a rite symbolising the instruction in the elements of the faith which awaited catechumens, and one which Nares is in error in assuming to be effete, for it is still practised at the consecration of the high altar in the Roman Church.² This cross is called *crux decussata* (x) because of its resemblance, like the cross of St. Andrew, to the shape of the Roman numeral x; and the Italian archæologist, Commendatore J. B. de Rossi, is of the opinion that it was an adaptation of an old rite observed by the augurs in marking out the site of a new temple.³

Not *inapropos*, perhaps, of this mystic cross I may remark that I remember being the observer once, whilst indulging in that lawn-tennis-supplanted game of croquet, of a mysterious act on the part of a lady, who, making use of the expression "criss-cross", at the same time drew with the mallet the form of a cross upon the grass, midway between the ball that the player was about to strike, and the hoop through which it was to pass.

¹ *La Consecration de l'Autel*, "Après que le celebrant a tracé les deux alphabets sur la cendre, il se tourne vers le grand autel à une distance raisonnable, ôte sa mitre, se met à genoux et prie." (Tom. i, p. 132.)

² The Roman Pontifical says: "Interim dum præmissa cantatur, Pontifex, acceptis mitra et baculo pastorali, incipiens ab angulo ecclesiæ ad sinistram intrantis, prout supra lineæ factæ sunt, cum extremitate baculi pastoralis scribit super cineres alphabetum Græcum, ita distinctis literis ut totum spatium occupent his videlicet. Deinde simili modo incipiens ab angulo ecclesiæ ad dexteram intrantis, scribit alphabetum Latinum, super cineres distinctis literis his videlicet."

³ Vide Very Rev. J. Hirst in *The Antiquary*, Feb. 1890.

The "criss-cross row", abbreviated to "cross-row", is mentioned by Shakespeare at the beginning of the tragedy of *Richard III*, and in circumstances to which some interest is attached with regard to the superstitious feelings with which it had become associated, owing, doubtless, to the influence of the mystic teaching in the monastery-schools. When Clarence advances what he believes to be his brother's reason for committing him to the Tower, he speaks of Edward thus:—

"He hearkens after prophecies and dreams,
And from the cross-row plucks the letter G,
And says a wizard told him that by G
His issue disinherited should be."

So that, whether from the initiatory cross, the prayer, invocation, etc., following, or from the alphabet itself, the cross-row must have become, with the religious ideas by which it was surrounded, a formidable instrument in the practice of witchcraft.

No. XII of the accompanying illustrations is copied from a sketch kindly furnished by our Vice-President, Mr. Mayhew, and the interest of this example is enhanced not only from the fact of its having been found in Pater-noster Row, but also by the existence of the hole in the handle; for the hornbook with the handle thus perforated for suspension at the girdle is probably an older form than that which had *no* hole; and I think the later form is seldom if ever seen with this provision, though there is said to be a book called a *View of the Beau Monde* (published in 1731), wherein is a description of a "lady dressed like a child, in a bodice, coat, and leading-strings,¹ with a hornbook tied to her side." This was, however, probably mere caprice on the part of the lady, for the girdle with its pendent necessities lingered in the costume of women throughout the seventeenth century, but not as late as the eighteenth.² It will be observed, then, that the hornbook bearing a leaf of black-letter, which

¹ Leading-strings were in use up to fifty years ago, and gave their name to a little alphabet-book by William Darton, a publisher at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was "one of the earliest efforts to make children's lessons pleasant and interesting". (*The Child and His Book*, by Mrs. E. M. Field, 1891.)

² Planché's *Costume*.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps assumed to have been preceded by one bearing the lesson inscribed upon vellum,¹ is generally characterised by an absence of the hole for suspension,—a circumstance which would seem to show that the custom of hanging them at the girdle ceased with the general disuse of the girdle itself at the beginning of the Stuart period, and soon after the introduction of printing.

That which I have ventured to bring under your notice (xi), and which suggested these remarks, is now in the possession of Mr. Roger Draper, a bibliophilist. It is, I think, unique in being made of ivory (apparently varnished), whilst from the circumstance of its bearing the alphabet only, without the initial cross or any other indication of the monastic educational influence, it is evidently of a late post-Reformation period. The bird with wings close, engraved upon the back, is perhaps intended for a buzzard, and probably a caprice of the engraver, unless it be the falcon from the arms of the Scriveners' Company. Mr. R. E. Way has in his possession the section of a hornbook, upon the leather back of which is stamped an eagle.

Of the very interesting hornbook antiquities lent by our Vice-President, Mr. Cuming, and of which he has kindly enabled me to furnish illustrations, the brass stamp (No. XIII) proclaims itself the most ancient relic extant of the hornbook era. It was used for impressing the leather backs of hornbooks, and bears the device of St. George and the Dragon, the chevalier being arrayed *cap-à-pie* in armour of the sixteenth century. It is much worn, and has evidently done heavy duty in the days when the tutelary Saint of England was much more *en évidence* than is even now St. Andrew of Scotland, St. Patrick of Ireland, or St. David of Wales.

This particular embellishment for the back of the hornbook was evidently familiar to the eye as late as the beginning of the Georgian era, for Thomas Tickell, the

¹ *Journal of the B. A. Association*, vol. ix. A link connecting the hornbook, reputedly of vellum, with the parchment *membrana* (*charta Pergamena*) of the Romans is, perhaps, afforded in a curious illustration contained in the Trinity College Psalter, of the interior of a Norman school, where the teacher is expounding to his pupils the writing on a roll of parchment. (*Vide Wright's Domestic Manners of the English.*)

poet, alludes to it whilst singing "In Praise of the Hornbook",—

"Behind, thy patron Saint in armour shines,
With sword and lance to guard thy sacred lines;
Beneath his courser's feet the dragon lies
Transfixed."

Next in point of antiquity must be considered the Nuremburg counter (illustrations Nos. VII, VIII) which bears the date 1550, and the alphabet upon the reverse; whilst the obverse exhibits what may be called, in contradistinction from the hornbook, "The Well-Spring of Science", viz., the Abacus or counting-table for inculcating the elementary operations of arithmetic. This contrivance for calculating (invented by Pythagoras, and hence called *Abacus Pythagoricus*) appeals to our notice with a pedigree sustained by its probable introduction into Britain by the Romans, who in their turn had it from the Greeks, whence to this day it survives in the toy-shops of London, and in the children's nursery, as well as in its use in Kinder-garten schools.

The hornbook has become a great rarity, and consequently it is not surprising to find that at such a representative and influential exhibition as that of the Horners' Company in October 1882, only eight examples could be mustered. Two of these, with stamped leather backs, have been very kindly lent for inspection by Dr. Evans, one of them displaying the figure of Charles I on horseback. Mr. Halliwell, in his *Notes on Shakespeare*, had met with only one which, as he speaks of it, was "of indubitable authenticity"; and not one of those that I have either heard of or seen is of sufficiently early date to boast the sheet of vellum which upon such eminent authority I have assumed to have been peculiar to the time before the diffusion of the benefits accruing from the introduction of the art of printing, when the printed leaf of black-letter created a new though brief era for the primer of our ancestors' childhood,—

"Their books of stature small took they in hand,
Which with pellucid horn secured are,
To save from fingers wet the letters fair",²

¹ See *The Decimal System*, by Sir John Bowring, LL.D., 1854, p. 198.

² Shenstone's *Schoolmistress*, 1748, p. 216.

"wet" being probably a poetic euphemism for "soiled"; and one can easily comprehend that "soiled" was not an uncommon condition in which they were taken to the very fountain,—that of knowledge,—where they were least likely to become either clean or wet.

In the *Battle of the Hornbooks*,¹ a dryly humorous little production, "from a fragment of Rabelais", the unknown author says that "a complete set of hornbooks, seventy in number, was left to the parish by an old lady" (the fortunate parish is not specified);..... "to them she communicated certain properties and virtues of a peculiar nature, among which the most remarkable was that each hornbook was a very just criterion of a boy's spirit, and showed, by infallible signs, whether he had in him the *stamina* of a gentleman or a plebeian. A lad of blood might play at quoits, shuttlecock, or duck and drake, with his hornbook, and it still continued bright and clean; whereas the book of a mean-spirited little fellow, though kept with the nicest care, had always a soiled look, and the letters were hardly distinguishable."

But it appears that the primer existed in another form, viz., that of metal, which, from the absence of the necessity for the horn-covering, was like, perhaps, that of vellum, designated an *absey-book*; under which name (since that of *hornbook* would be obviously inapplicable), that which suggested this paper may *also* be placed.

The ground for supposing that they were sometimes made of metal is the discovery, on Sir George Musgrave's estate, in 1851, of what were apparently, with good reason, assumed to be hornbook-moulds. They were made of hone-stone, and were duly exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, who are now in the possession of casts of them. Engravings of them, besides those accompanying these remarks (IV, V, VI), may be seen in vol. xxxiv of *Archæologia*. In these illustrations the eye should, I think, be gratified to find some kind of the hitherto missing link connecting the hornbook with the Runic or Danish calendar, in respect of the devices apparent on the moulds,² which are so strikingly similar to those on the

¹ 1774. 8145, Add. Brit. Mus. Lib.

² Brady, in his *Clavis Calendaria*, says that the Runic almanacks bore the characters of pagan superstition until about the fourth cen-

Runic or clog-almanack (III), that their origin and import cannot be doubted.

The clog or *log*-almanacks (for the word is of the same derivation with the "log" for measuring a ship's way, the Christmas log, and Dutch *clog*) were pieces of wood having three months of the year on each of their four divisions, and of very ancient use by our ancestors as permanent portable calendars. They bore symbols and hieroglyphics which we can so far identify with those upon the moulds as to feel with certainty that the latter were employed for the religious teaching of the child as well as for inculcating the alphabet.

First appears the cock, emblem of St. Peter. In the almanack engraved in Dr. Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire*,¹ however, St. Peter is represented as the Janitor of Heaven, by two keys endorsed, and *not* crossed; but the other four devices will all be found to correspond very closely with those upon the almanack. Next in order is the heart of the Virgin Mary,—a symbol which in the almanack published in Camden's *Britannia* (Gough) is placed against each of the six days appropriated to her calendar-feasts. Thirdly, the square device is in all probability that of St. Gregory, the patron saint of children;² whilst the triple formation at the end of another square device, perhaps represents the Three Passion-nails, in allusion to the legend of the Saviour having descended upon the altar surrounded by the instruments of His crucifixion, at the intercession of St. Gregory on behalf of one of his congregation who doubted the Real Presence at the Mass.³

Finally, *i.e.*, in the absence of any knowledge as to what the linear formation and roundels at the top and base of the mould may signify, the circular device, no doubt, stands for the wheel of St. Catherine,—a symbol

tury, when they partook of both heathen and Christian emblematical devices, so as to be more generally saleable. After the seventh century they were wholly Christian.

¹ Also in Fosbroke's *Encycl. of Antiquities* (4to.), Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol. ii, and Camden's *Britannia*, vol. ii, p. 380 (Gough's).

² See *Calendar of the Anglican Church*. Parker, 1851. Brit. Mus. Lib., 4826A.

³ In the legend depicted in the *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, and copied from an old MS. in the Bodleian Library, the nails, three in number, are conspicuously figured.

of the patroness of learning and education which is also seen upon the clog-almanack.

We thus have the symbols of four of the most popular of the Saints of mediæval ecclesiology. In the Mediæval Department of the British Museum are preserved several of these smooth boards or sticks,—Runic calendars,—one of which bears the Manx arms, and all bear the lines and marks distinguishing the golden numbers, holidays, epacts, etc.

The spelling-book began to take the place of the horn-book only as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century; and with the spelling-book (one of the best of which was published in Kensington by a John Urmston, schoolmaster, 1710) perhaps came the idiom “as plain as A, B, C”, seeing that the former equivalent expression, in the time of hornbooks, was “to read through the horn”, in allusion to the ease with which the alphabet might be read through the diaphonous covering. Ben Jonson uses the expression,—

“The letters may be read through the horn
That make the story perfect.”

Another name for the primer was an *Absey-book*, or *Abece-book*. *Abece* was, however, the more archaic spelling of the word. In the play of *King John* the Bastard says,

“I shall beseech you”; that is (the) question now,
“And then comes answer like an *absey-book*.”

Abecedaire, another archaism, seems to have been a term meaning childish, simple, or ignorant. The *battledore*, a cognate form of the hornbook, may still linger in remote parts of the country. The *battledore* was so called from its resemblance to the bat used in the game of battledore and shuttlecock, or from its being the first door through which a child passed in the battle of life or of knowledge,¹ though this assumption is regardless of the fact that d-o-r-e in *battledore* is not related in any way to our word *door*. The *battledore*² was a thin piece of paste-

¹ There is a quaint illustration in *Margaritha Philosophica* (1503), wherein an A B C hornbook is being held towards a pupil, who with his instructress is about to enter a building, apparently intended for the school; and thus both literally and figuratively he is on the threshold of the door of knowledge (ix).

² “To know B from a battledore.”—Ray’s *Proverbs*.

board bearing the alphabet in large and small letters, syllables, numerals, etc., like the later hornbook ; but with the addition of a few rough woodcuts. Something similar to this was of late, and perhaps is of present, use in France ; at all events an interesting example of this survival of the French "Croix de par Dieu" (x) is in the possession of Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., and described as having been purchased in Paris in 1847.

A memory of the hornbook's existence is happily perpetuated in the name of that famous mart of English literature,—the Sheffield whence still emanates the best "tools of education",—Paternoster Row, where, during the hornbook's long use through the middle ages, and more especially after the introduction of printing, thousands upon thousands must have been issued ; and the probability that before printing they were far more expensive, and less easily obtainable even in Paternoster Row, will perhaps account, in some measure, for the absolute extinction of the vellum cross-row. The Paternoster's Company (one of the many minor trade-companies which had a *quasi*-corporate existence in the middle ages) existed in the ninth year of Henry V,¹ and traces of one at least of its protégés are recorded by Mr. Cuming in his paper upon the old traders' signs in St. Paul's Churchyard,² where we are told that the "A, B, C", was the sign of a bookseller named Richard Fawkes, whose shop was in the churchyard.

¹ Records of the Brewers' Company.

² *British Arch. Journal*.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE
OF THE
EARLY CHRISTIAN SCULPTURED STONES OF
THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

(*Localities arranged alphabetically.*)

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

BILTON, eight miles west of York, and five miles south-west of Marston Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 93, S.W.

(No. 1.)—Broken cross-shaft, preserved inside church, 2 ft. 3 in. long by 10 in. wide, by 6 in. thick, having a beaded cable-moulding on four angles, and sculptured on four faces thus:—

Front.—Divided into three panels containing (1), regular, double-beaded, six-cord plaitwork; (2), two men standing side by side, showing full face. The one on the left undraped, holding a knife in the right hand, and placing the left hand on the other man's shoulder. The figure on the left is draped, and has in the middle of his dress a peculiar, incised mark of the same shape as the so-called "spectacle-symbol" found on the sculptured stones of Scotland. (3), square, T-border, key-pattern.

Back.—Divided into two panels containing (1), foliage [?]; (2), regular, double-beaded, six-cord plaitwork.

Right side.—Divided into two panels containing (1), irregular interlaced work; (2), regular six-cord plaitwork.

Left side.—A single panel containing square, z-border key-pattern.¹

(No. 2.)—Cross-head, preserved inside church, on a bracket, under west window of nave, 1 ft. 6 in. across arms; diameter of circular ring, 1 ft. 5 ins. outside, and 1 ft. 2 in. inside. Sculptured on two faces thus:

Front.—In the centre a projecting, circular boss. On

¹ This stone is described and illustrated in the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. ix, p. 177.

each of the four arms a man with his head next the centre, and his legs pointing outwards. The men are grasping each other's hands, and have a figure-of-eight-ring interlaced with their legs. On the right upper quadrant of the circular ring between the arms, regular, three-cord plaitwork. On the left upper quadrant of the ring a square, T-border, key-pattern.

Back.—In the centre a projecting, circular boss; on each of the four arms a twist and ring joined to four Stafford knots arranged symmetrically round the central boss; on the right hand upper quadrant of the circular ring, between the arms, a twist; on the left hand upper quadrant of the ring, regular, three-cord plaitwork.

Note.—There is another sculptured stone in Bilton Church, with a representation of three men grasping each other's arms; but it did not appear to me to be of as early date as the rest. In the churchyard there stands the stump of a cross-shaft with the sculpture entirely obliterated.

* * *

BINGLEY, six miles north-west of Bradford, and a quarter of a mile north of Bingley Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 92, S.E.

(No. 1.)—Font, or cross-base utilised as font, lying in churchyard, against south wall of nave. Of irregular shape, the four sides varying in length from 2 ft. to 2 ft. 5 in. outside, and 1 ft. 7 in. to 1 ft. 9 in. inside; the depth being 1 ft. 2 in. outside, and 10 in. inside. Sculptured on four faces thus:—

Front.—An incised inscription, in Anglian Runes, in four horizontal lines, too much defaced to be read with any degree of certainty, but of which the interpretations have been attempted by the late Dr. Daniel Haigh in his paper on "Yorkshire Runic Monuments" in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* (vol. ii, p. 254), and by Professor G. Stephens in his *Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 137. Dr. Haigh's reading is

+ EADBERHT EATING CY-
NING RIHTE GIBAN CESTE NYS-
ODE ONGUS BINGALEAHES

" + Eadberht, son of Eatta, King, uttered a gracious ban. Ongus visited Bingley."

1891

12

And Prof. Stephens makes it out to be

EADBIERT CÜNÜNG
HET HIEAWAN DEP-STANUS
GIBID FÜR HIS SAULE

“Eadbierht King
Ordered this font to be hewn.
Pray thou for his soul.”

Back, right, and left sides.—Very irregular interlaced work composed of circular rings and straight bands.

(No. 2.)—Broken cross-shaft, a mere fragment, the description of which I have not yet obtained.

* * *

BURNSALL, nine miles west of Pateley Bridge, and seven miles north-west of Bolton Abbey Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 92, N.E.

I have not yet obtained the full particulars about the stones at this place. They are preserved inside the church.

No. 1 is a cross, 4 ft. 9 in. high, and 1 ft. 3 in. across the arms, ornamented with a twist and ring and Stafford knot on the head, and with the peculiar Manx ring-chain pattern on the shaft.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4, are broken cross-shafts with interlaced work.

Besides the above there are three plain crosses, a plain coped stone, and a stone with an incised cross. The stones are mentioned in Morant's edition (third) of Whitaker's *Craven*, p. 204.

* * *

COLLINGHAM.—Village ten miles north-east of Leeds and church, a quarter of a mile east of Collingham Bridge Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 93, s.w.

There are four sculptured stones at Collingham. They were for many years in the greenhouse at the Vicarage; but are now placed within the church, under the arch of the western tower. Nos. 1, 2, and 3, although portions of three separate crosses, are fixed one on the top of the other, and fastened together with cement. They are erected on a new stone base on the south side of the arch under the tower. No. 4 is erected on a new stone base on the north side, opposite to the others.

(No. 1) is a broken cross-shaft of sandstone, 2 ft. 9 in. high by 1 ft. wide at the bottom, and 10½ in. wide at the

top, by 8 in. thick at the bottom, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick at the top; sculptured on four faces thus—

Front.—Divided into three panels containing—(1), defaced sculpture; (2), interlaced work composed of two twisted bands placed horizontally; (3), a pair of beasts standing on their hind-legs, facing each other, with their fore-paws crossed, and bands proceeding from the ears, forming knot D in the space between the bellies of the beasts, and two spiral knots round the hind-legs. On the blank space at the bottom is an inscription in Anglian Runes, in one horizontal line, being a continuation of the inscription which commences on the left side.

Back.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), interlaced work too much defaced to make out the pattern; (2), a beast with its tail forming a Stafford knot, a good deal defaced.

Right side.—A single panel of interlaced work, composed of knot F arranged in one vertical row, repeated twice, and terminating at the bottom in a Stafford knot.

Left side.—A single panel of scrolls of foliage springing from each side of an undulating stem. On the blank space at the bottom is the commencement of an inscription in Anglian Runes, in one line, which is continued on the front of the shaft. The whole is read by Professor G. Stephens, in his *Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 121,—

ÆFTAR ONSWINI CU(NING)
After Oswin King

(No. 2) is a broken cross-shaft of sandstone, 1 ft. 3 in. high by $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the bottom, and $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the top, by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick at the bottom, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick at the top. Sculptured on four faces thus—

Front.—A single panel of foliage branching from two undulating and interlacing stems, the bends in the stem being angular.

Back.—A single panel of double-beaded, interlaced work composed of a figure-of-eight-knot placed horizontally, and another knot which is incomplete.

Right side.—A single panel of square, T, key-pattern border.

Left side.—A single panel of square, Z, key-pattern, double-beaded.

No. 3 is one arm of a broken cross-head of sandstone, 8 in. long, by 9 in. wide, by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick ; sculptured on two faces thus—

Front.—A single panel of triple-beaded, interlaced work composed of two bands twisted together, and combined with a circular ring.

Back.—A single panel of triple-beaded, interlaced work, composed of a Stafford knot forming the termination of the pattern on the end of the arm of the cross.

(No. 4) is a broken cross-shaft of sandstone, cracked across the middle, 3 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 1 ft. 1 in. wide at the bottom, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide at the top, by 10 in. wide at the bottom, and 8 in. wide at the top. Sculptured on four faces thus :—

Front.—On the two vertical angles of the shaft is a cable-moulding extending only as far as the bottom of the middle panel, below which the angles are chamfered and ornamented with foliage. The face is divided into three panels with arched tops, bounded by a plain, flat band at the top and sides. The two lower panels are separated by a border of foliage, which is a continuation of that on the vertical angles. The three panels contain : (1), a three-quarter length figure of a saint with the nimbus round the head, showing the full face, and the right hand in front of the body ; (2), a three-quarter length figure of a saint with the nimbus round the head, showing the full face, and the hair dressed as on Roman sepulchral monuments, the lower part of the body being defaced ; (3), a three-quarter length figure of a saint with the nimbus round the head, and showing the full face.

Back.—The architectural features similar to those on the front, and divided into three panels, each containing a three-quarter length figure of a saint with the nimbus round the head, showing the full face.

Right side.—The architectural features similar to those on the other faces, and divided into three panels, each containing a full-length figure of a saint with the nimbus round the head, and showing the full face,—(1), holding a scroll in the left hand, and with the right hand across his breast ; (2), holding a book in the left hand, and giving the benediction with the right ; (3), holding a sceptre (?) in the right hand.

Left side.—The architectural features similar to those on the other faces, and divided into three panels, each containing a full-length figure of a saint with the nimbus round the head; those in the top and bottom panels showing the full face, but the one in the middle panel showing the three-quarter face turned towards the right. (1) has the right hand hanging down in front of the body; (2) has the lower part of the body defaced; (3) holds a roll in the left hand.¹

* * *

CROFTON, three miles south-east of Wakefield, and one mile south-east of Crofton Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 87, N.W.

(No. 1.)—Broken cross-shaft preserved inside church, 1 ft. 10 in. long, and 1 ft. 1 in. by 7 in.; sculptured on four faces thus:

Front.—Two beasts placed symmetrically, facing each other, with necks bent over, biting each others backs, with tails twisted between legs, and bodies covered with scales.

Back.—Two serpents forming a complete piece of double-beaded, interlaced work composed of spiral knots in double row; those in the row on the right being left-handed, and those in the row on the left, right-handed.

Right and left sides.—Scrolls of foliage.

(No. 2.)—Broken cross-head preserved inside church, 1 ft. 1 in. long by 11 in. by 7 in.; sculptured on two faces thus:—

Front.—The upper part of the figure of a man holding a cross or sceptre in the left hand.

Back.—The upper part of the figure of a man wearing a crown, placed in a reversed position to the man on the front.²

* * *

DEWSBURY, ten miles south-west of Leeds, and a quarter of a mile from Dewsbury Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 88, N.E.

(No. 1.)—Broken cross-head preserved in the British

¹ These stones are described and illustrated in a paper by Mr. T. J. Pettigrew in the *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xx, p. 311.

² Both Nos. 1 and 2 are described and illustrated in the *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 2nd Ser., vol. iv, p. 34.

Museum, 4 in. long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, having cable-moulding on angles, and sculptured on four faces thus—

Front.—Inscription, in Saxon minuscules, in seven horizontal lines, read by Prof. Stephens in his *Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 140,—

..... (Edilber)

rhtae be

cun aeft

er beor

nae gibi

ddad d

er sa

ule

"

this set after

Edilberht,

a beacon after

the prince.

Pray ye for

his soul."

Back.—Scrolls of foliage.

Right side.—Square, Z-border key-pattern.

Left side.—Ditto.¹

(No. 2.)—Broken cross-head found in repairing church, now preserved inside nave, together with all except No. 1, 1 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long by 10 in. by 6 in., having a cable-moulding round edges, and sculptured on two faces. On the

Front.—An angel with a figure kneeling.

(No. 3.)—Broken cross-head, 11 in. long by 8 ins. by 4 in.; sculptured on two faces thus—

Front.—In the centre a circular boss projecting $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the face, ornamented with radial, incised lines, and surrounded by an angular twist. On the arm, interlaced work composed of a four-loop ring combined with an angular twist.

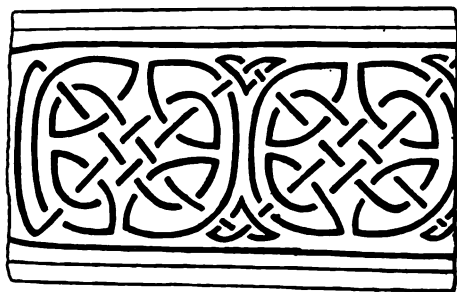
Back.—In the centre a circular boss similar to that on the front, ornamented with concentric, bead-mouldings, and surrounded by an angular twist. On the arm, interlaced work composed of a figure-of-eight-ring combined with a four-cord plait.

(No. 4.)—Broken cross-shaft found during recent restoration, and preserved with the rest, 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, 6 in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. at bottom, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 5 in. at top, having cable-moulding on angles, and sculptured on four faces thus—

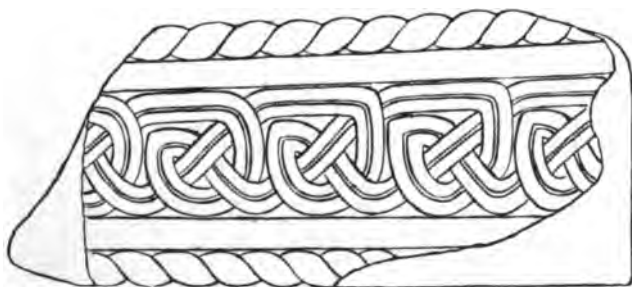
Front.—Lower half of the figure of the crucified Saviour.

Back.—Man, or perhaps devil, holding a two-pronged fork in the right hand.

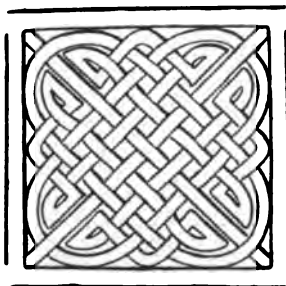
¹ This stone is described and illustrated in the *Archæologia*, xxxiv, p. 347.



Ilkley No. 7.
Back. p. 168.
† Full size.



Dewsbury No. 4.
Right side. p. 163.
† Full size.



Ilkley No. 7.
Front. p. 168.
† Full size.

Right side.—Double-beaded, interlaced work consisting of right-handed spiral knots in single row, repeated five times.

Left side.—Scrolls of foliage springing from a single undulating stem.

(No. 5.)—Broken cross-shaft, 2 ft. 1 in. long by 9 in. wide; sculptured on one face thus—

Front.—Figure of the Saviour with nimbus round the head, seated, holding a scroll in the left, and having the right, upraised palm outwards. On a horizontal band at the top an inscription in Saxon capitals, in one line,—

IHS XEVS

Jesus Christ

(No. 6.)—Broken cross-shaft, 1 ft. 10 in. long by 9 in. wide; sculptured on one face thus—

Front.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), the miracle of Cana: three figures with the nimbus round the head, seated, and four wine-vessels at their feet. On a horizontal band at the top, an inscription in Saxon capitals, in one line,

.. VM FECIT ...

(2), the head of one figure with the nimbus round the head, and the heads of five others without it. On a horizontal band at the top, an inscription in Saxon capitals, in one line,

.. BET DVO PIS ...

(No. 7.)—Broken cross-head, 1 ft. 9 in. long by 1 ft. by 7 in., having a cable-moulding on the angle, and sculptured on two faces thus:

Front.—Scrolls of foliage interlaced.

Left side.—The Virgin and Child beneath a canopy supported by a pillar at each side.

(No. 8.)—Broken cross-shaft, 1 ft. 10 in. long, by 1 ft. 3 in. by 9 in.; sculptured on one face thus:

Front.—Lower portions of two draped figures, and two round arches below with figures under each.

(No. 9.)—Broken cross-shaft, 1 ft. 11 in. long by 10 in. by 7 in.; sculptured on one face thus:

Front.—Part of a circular medallion surrounded by a cable-moulding at the top, and two draped figures below.

(No. 10.)—Broken coped stone, 1 ft. 6 in. long by 1 ft. high, by 1 ft. 4 in. wide, having a central ridge at the

top, mouldings at the ends, pillars at two angles, and sculptured on five faces thus :

End.—A cross within a border.

Right and left sides.—Scrolls of foliage springing from an undulating stem.

Sloping top, right side.—Three rows of scales with rounded ends, to imitate roofing-tiles.

Sloping top, left side.—Three rows of scales with pointed ends, and one row with rounded ends.¹

* * *

GUISLEY, nine miles north-west of Leeds, and half a mile north of Guisley Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 92, S.E.

Shaft and portion of head of cross, found when the north wall of St. Oswald's Church was removed. Sculptured on at least one face thus :

Front.—On the broken arm of cross a dragon or serpent with twisted body ; on the shaft, interlaced work. I have not yet obtained any further particulars about this stone. It is described and illustrated in W. H. Hatton's *Churches of Yorkshire*, p. 32.

* * *

HARTSHEAD, ten miles south-west of Leeds, and two miles west of Liversedge Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 88, N.E.

Complete cross-base of sandstone standing *in situ* behind farmhouse, to north of church, called Walton Cross ; of irregular shape, varying from 4 ft. 5 in. to 4 ft. 10 in. high ; 3 ft. 4 in. to 3 ft. 6 in., by 2 ft. 4 in. to 2 ft. 7 in. at bottom ; and 2 ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 1 in. to 2 ft. 3 in. at top. Fixed in a plain socket-stone which is below the level of the ground ; having cable-mouldings on the four vertical angles, horizontal mouldings at the top and bottom, and sculptured on four faces thus :

Front.—A central panel in relief, surrounded by a double ornamental border, and containing scrolls of foliage springing symmetrically from each side of a central stem, and having birds in pairs, facing each other, within the four principal scrolls. The inner border, which is

¹ This stone is described and illustrated in J. B. Greenwood's *Early History of Dewsbury*, p. 154.



Knot D.



Figure of Eight Knot.

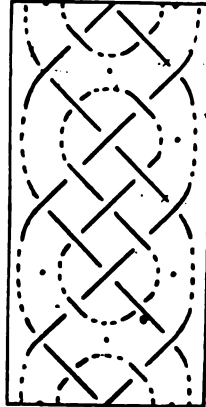


Knot F

† Full size.



Ilkley No. 5.
Left side.
p. 167.



Hartshead.
Front. p. 165.

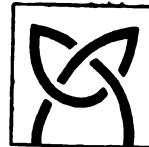
† Full size.



Ilkley No. 5.
Right side.
p. 167.



Spiral Knot.



Stafford Knot.

narrower at the two sides than at the top and bottom, is formed of a continuous piece of interlaced work, consisting, at the two sides, of an angular twist, and at the top and bottom of a plait of four bands combined with figure-of-eight-rings in a single row along the centre. The outer border is formed of a continuous piece of interlaced work consisting of an angular twist combined with figure-of-eight-rings in a single row along the centre.

Back.—A single panel containing at the top, within a plain, circular border, a piece of interlaced work consisting of four Stafford knots, each filling one quadrant of the circle, and combined with a band forming a complete ring, having two loops in each quadrant. In the spandrils, at each upper corner above the circle, piece of interlaced work (the same on both sides) consisting of two Stafford knots with a loop between, distorted so as to fill the space completely; the remainder of the panel below the circle containing scrolls of foliage springing from each side of a central stem, and intertwined with two beasts having wings and four legs, placed symmetrically, facing each other.

Right side.—A single panel containing two separate pieces of interlaced work,—(1) occupying a rectangular space on the left side, next the bottom, and consisting of irregular plaitwork; (2) filling the rest of the panel, and consisting of plaited bands combined with double rows of figure-of-eight-rings in a somewhat uneven way, those at the top being arranged in horizontal rows, and those down the right side in vertical rows. One of the figure-of-eight-rings has three loops instead of two.

Left side.—A single panel of interlaced work, consisting of bands plaited irregularly, and combined with circular rings.¹



ILKLEY, sixteen miles north-west of Leeds, and a quarter of a mile north of Ilkley Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 92, S.E.

(No. 1.)—Complete cross-shaft of millstone-grit, erect in new base on old site, with Nos. 2 and 3, in churchyard, on south side, 8 ft. 4 in. high, 1 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. at

¹ This stone is described and illustrated in the *Journ. Royal Arch. Inst.*, vol. v, p. 63, and in Smith's *Old Yorkshire*, vol. iv.

bottom, and 11 in. by 11 in. at top; sculptured on four faces thus:

North side.—Four panels containing symbols of four Evangelists,—(1), eagle of St. John; (2), bull of St. Luke; 3, lion of St. Mark; (4), Angel of St. Matthew.

South side.—Four panels containing—(1), a three-quarter length figure of a saint or ecclesiastic with the nimbus round the head, and holding a pastoral staff in the left hand; (2), two serpentine creatures placed symmetrically, facing each other, with their tails interlaced; (3), a winged beast with tail interlaced, and fore-paw upraised; (4), a beast with tail twisted under its belly and across the neck, and with fore-paw upraised.

East side.—Scrolls of foliage springing from an undulating stem, and two spirals at the bottom.

West side.—Scrolls of foliage springing from an undulating stem, with two triquetra-knots in the angles, and a pair of serpentine creatures interlaced at the bottom.¹

(No. 2.)—Broken cross-shaft of millstone-grit, formerly standing in churchyard, and now erected on new base in churchyard, on the east side of No. 1, 5 ft. 5 in. high, 1 ft. by 1 ft. 1 in. at bottom, and 9½ in. square at top, having a cable-moulding on the four angles, and sculptured on four faces thus:

North side.—Upper part defaced; portions of two panels remaining at bottom, containing—(1), conventional foliage; (2), a beast with its tail twisted spirally round the body.

South side.—Divided into five panels containing—(1), defaced sculpture; (2), partially defaced sculpture of two beasts facing each other; (3), a pair of beasts with four legs placed symmetrically, facing each other, having paws upraised and tails interlaced; (4), ditto; (5), central stem with scrolls of foliage branching out symmetrically on each side, and enclosing birds arranged in pairs, facing each other.

East and west sides.—Scrolls of foliage.²

(No. 3.)—Upper part of cross-shaft of millstone-grit, formerly standing in churchyard, and now erected on

¹ This stone is described and illustrated in the *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xl, p. 160.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

new base in churchyard, on west side of No. 1, 4 ft. 6 in. high, 1 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. at bottom, and 11 in. square at top; sculptured on four faces thus:

North side.—Divided into three panels, all defaced.

South side.—Divided into three panels containing—(1), beasts much defaced; (2), a beast with tail forming loops, and interlaced with its legs; (3), a beast with tail interlaced. The horizontal band between panels two and three ornamented with rows of small round holes.

East side.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), a beast with interlaced tail forming a Stafford knot; (2), figure of saint holding book; horizontal band between panels ornamented with incised dots and lines.

West side.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), a beast having its tail interlaced with its legs; (2), a beast with its fore-paw upraised, and the tail interlaced so as to form Stafford knots.¹

(No. 4.)—Upper part of broken cross-shaft of millstone-grit, found during restoration, and preserved, with Nos. 5, 6, and 8, in vestry of church, 1 ft. 4 in. long by 8½ in. by 5½ in.; having a cable-moulding on the four angles, and sculptured on three faces thus:

Front.—Scrolls of foliage.

Back.—Defaced.

Right side.—Divided into three panels containing—(1), part of a key-pattern; (2), a star-pattern; (3), interlaced work composed of Stafford knots facing in opposite directions, and arranged in two vertical rows.

Left side.—Divided into three panels containing—(1), defaced sculpture; (2), a star ornament similar to that on the right side; (3), interlaced work composed of knot D, facing to the right, arranged in a single row, combined with two outer bands, and terminating at the top in a half-spiral knot.

(No. 5.)—The lower part of broken cross-shaft No. 4, 1 ft. 5 in. long by 9 in. by 6 in.; has a tenon at the bottom, cable-moulding on the four angles, is sculptured on three faces with a continuation of the patterns on No. 4, and is defaced at the back. The termination of the Stafford knot-pattern on the right face is obliterated, and

¹ This stone is described in the *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xl, p. 165.

the pattern on the left side terminates in a spiral knot at the bottom.

(No. 6.)—The lower part of broken cross-shaft, 1 ft. 7 in. long by 10 in. by 4½ in., having a tenon at the bottom, and a horizontal chevron-moulding just above; sculptured on one face only, thus :

Front.—Scrolls of foliage placed symmetrically on each side of a central stem.

Back and sides.—Defaced.¹

(No. 7.)—Broken cross-shaft found in 1868, in digging the foundations of some cottages, nearly opposite the church, and now in the Museum at Leeds; 1 ft. 10 in. long by 11½ in. wide by 8 in. thick; having cable-mouldings on the four angles, horizontal chevron-mouldings between the panels, and sculptured on four sides thus :

Front.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), interlaced work filling a square divided into four quarters by two diagonals; the pattern in each of the four triangles thus formed being the same, and consisting of plaitwork with a loop introduced at the two outer corners of each triangle. (2), a pair of beasts placed symmetrically, facing outwards, and interlaced.

Back.—Incised, interlaced work composed of circular knot (No. 170)² arranged in a single row, and repeated twice, with small Stafford knots forming the junction in the spaces between the circular band and the sides of the panel.

Right side.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), a looped band; (2), scrolls of foliage.

Left side.—Divided into two panels containing (1), a man; (2), interlaced work composed of spiral knots arranged in two vertical rows, all those in the row on the right being left-handed, and all those in the row on the left being right-handed.³

¹ Nos. 4, 5, and 6 are described and illustrated in the *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xl, p. 166, figs. B, A, D.

² See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xvii, p. 260. It occurs on one of the crosses at Meigle in Perthshire (Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii, pl. 6), and in the *Codex Aureus*, a French MS. of the ninth century, in the British Museum (Harl. 2788, fols. 4, 6, and 19).

³ This stone is described and illustrated in Whitaker's *Craven* (3rd ed., by Morant), p. 285.

(No. 8.)—Broken cross-head, 1 ft. long by 11 in. by 5 in., having cable-moulding on four angles, and sculptured on three faces thus :

Front.—A beast.

Back.—Defaced.

End of arm.—Four-cord plaitwork.

Under-side of arm.—Broken plaitwork of six bands.¹

(No. 9.)—Broken cross-head now preserved in Calvary at Middleton Hall, 2 ft. across arms, by 7½ in. by 5 in.; sculptured on two faces thus :

Front.—In the centre a raised, circular boss surrounded by concentric rings. On each arm a beast.

Back.—Traces of interlaced work.²

(No. 10.)—Broken cross-head found in the river Wharfe in 1884, and now preserved in the Calvary at Middleton Hall, 11 in. long by 8 in. wide; sculptured on at least one face thus :

Front.—Scroll-foliage.

(No. 11.)—Broken cross-shaft found in the river Wharfe, 2 ft. 8 in. long by 1 ft. by 8 in. wide; sculptured on three faces thus :

Front.—Scrolls of interlaced foliage with a beast amongst the leaves.

Back.—Defaced.

Right and left sides.—Scrolls of foliage.

* * *

KIPPAX, eight miles west of Leeds, and one mile west of Kippax Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 87, N.W.

Broken cross-shaft, the dimensions of which I have not yet obtained; sculptured on one face thus :

Front.—Divided into three panels containing—(1), (?); (2), a man.

* * *

KIRKBURTON, ten miles south-west of Wakefield, and a quarter of a mile south of Kirkburton Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 88, S.E.

Cross broken into three pieces, the dimensions of which I have not yet obtained; sculptured on one face thus :

¹ This stone is described and illustrated in the *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xl, p. 166, fig. c.

² *Ibid.*, fig. e.

Front.—On the head, the Crucifixion ; on the shaft, interlaced work.

* * *

KIRKBY HILL,¹ eighteen miles north-west of York, and one mile north of Boroughbridge Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 92, N.W.

(No. 1.)—Impost of south doorway on east side, 2 ft. long by 1 ft. 2½ in. wide ; sculptured on two faces thus :

South face.—Circular knot, No. 170, similar to that on the cross-shaft, No. 7, at Ilkley, in a single horizontal row, repeated three times.

West face.—Scrolls of foliage.

(No. 2.)—Fragment of cross-shaft of gritstone sculptured on one face thus :

Front.—Scales and scrolls produced by rudely incised lines.

(No. 3.)—Fragment of cross-shaft of gritstone, 10 in. high, by 10 in. wide, by 5 in. thick, sculptured on three faces thus :

Front.—A horse.

Back.—Interlaced bands.

Right side.—Square key-pattern.

(No. 4.)—Broken cross, of gritstone, found during restoration in 1870, with Nos. 5 and 6, in north wall, near the top, sculptured on one face thus :

Front.—On lower arm of cross, the two feet of the crucified Saviour ; on the shaft below, an angel (?) flying above a standing figure with a nimbus round the head.

(No. 5.)—Broken cross of gritstone, 3 ft. 3 in. long by 1 ft. 1 in. wide, by 6½ in. thick ; sculptured on one face thus :

Front.—On the lower half of the broken head a circular ring with two lines crossing at right angles in centre.

(No. 6.)—Fragment of cross-shaft of gritstone, 2 ft. 2 in. long by 1 ft. wide ; sculptured on one face thus :

Front.—Rudely executed scrollwork.

(No. 7.)—Broken cross of gritstone, 2 ft. long by 1 ft. 1 in. wide, by 5½ in. thick ; sculptured on one face thus :

Front.—On the lower arm of the cross, remains of pattern ; shaft divided into two panels containing—(1), plait composed of eight bands ; and (2), ditto.

¹ This place is just outside the borders of the West Riding.

(No. 8.)—Broken cross-head of gritstone, 1 ft. 1½ in. high by 1 ft. 9 in. wide across the arms, by 7 in. thick ; sculptured on one face thus :

Front.—Figure of crucified Saviour (?).

(No. 9.)—Rectangular block of gritstone, 1 ft. 9 in. long, by 11 in. wide, by 8½ in. thick ; sculptured on two faces thus :

Top.—A cross having expanded ends to the arms, within a circle.

Front.—An animal and a man.¹

* * *

KIRKBY WHARFE, ten miles south-west of York, and one mile north-west of Ulleskelf Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 93, s.w.

Complete cross, the dimensions of which I have not yet obtained, sculptured on four faces thus :

Front.—On head, interlaced work composed of bands forming Stafford knots at the ends of the arms. On shaft, two panels containing (1), two figures, one on each side of a tree,—perhaps intended for Adam and Eve ; (2), interlaced work composed of two Stafford knots.

Back.—(?).

Right side.—Square Z-border, key-pattern.

Left side.—Square T-border, key-pattern.²

* * *

KIRKHEATON, four miles south-west of Dewsbury, and a quarter of a mile east of Kirkheaton Railway Station.

Broken cross-shaft, 9 in. long by 6 in. wide, inscribed with two lines of Anglian Runes as follows,

EOH WOR

HTL

Note.—I am indebted to the Rev. Canon G. F. Browne, F.S.A., Disney Professor of Archæology at Cambridge, for information about many of the stones in this list.

¹ These stones are described and illustrated in the *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Reports*, vol. x, p. 241.

² This stone has been described and illustrated by the Rev. Canon G. F. Browne in his *Disney Lectures on Archæology* at Cambridge.

(To be continued.)

ENGLAND AND CASTILLE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY COMPARED.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

(*Read 11th July 1890.*)

IN 1877, at our Congress at Llangollen, I had occasion to draw some comparisons between North Wales under Edward I and Castille under Alphonso X, brother-in-law of our English monarch. It is proposed on this occasion to bring together some analogies in the history of England and of Castille in the latter half of the fourteenth century; analogies which will not so well apply to an earlier nor to a later period; and though, in the space of a short paper, it will be impossible to pursue the subject in its wide ramifications, yet a discussion of the main-springs of English life at the period in question, as compared with Castilian, may be appropriately touched upon in this centre of the town and University of Oxford,—good types of the growing power of chartered towns and of the spread of knowledge in both countries. The reigning sovereigns were—

| <i>In Castille.</i> | | <i>In England.</i> | |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| Peter the Cruel | 1350-1369 | Edward III | 1327-1377 |
| Henry II | 1369-1379 | Richard II | 1377-1399 |
| John I | 1379-1390 | Henry IV | 1399-1413 |
| Henry III | 1390-1406 | | |

And though the acts of the sovereigns are not so much selected for my theme as the administration and circumstances of each country, it will be well to bear in mind contemporary rulers of kingdoms bordering on these states, and not always on the best of terms with them or with each other. There reigned in

| <i>France.</i> | | <i>Portugal.</i> | |
|------------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| Philip VI de Valois | 1328-1350 | Peter I | 1357-1367 |
| John II, the Good | 1350-1364 | Ferdinand I | 1367-1383 |
| Charles V, the Wise | 1364-1380 | John I | 1383-1434 |
| Charles VI, the Simple | 1380-1422 | | |

For the reign of Peter the Cruel of Castille we have, besides the general histories of Spain, the excellent

Chronicle of Pedro Lopez de Ayala,—a very model of such compositions before the introduction into Spain of the chivalric and romantic inventions of the *trouveurs* and *troubadours* of the North and of Provence. The chronicler referred to was certainly a natural enemy of King Peter, and therefore not altogether unprejudiced in the estimate of his character; but many of the facts, which can hardly be impugned, oblige us to condemn the monarch, whose actions were without excuse, though our condemnation of him may be somewhat modified on a survey of the surrounding circumstances, and the bitterness of his adversaries, particularly as his cause has been advocated by more than one of his own countrymen.

Ayala was not only a scholar and ardent lover of history, but also an actor in the scenes he describes. He joined the party of Henry of Trastamara, afterwards Henry II of Castille, and was made prisoner at the battle of Najara, and conveyed to England, where a portion of the poems, afterwards published, were written. He was made Grand-Chancellor to Henry II, and held office in the following reigns of John I and Henry III. The Portuguese captured him at the battle of Aljubarotta in 1385; but he was soon released, and died peaceably at Calahorra in 1407, at the age of seventy-five. His Chronicle extends over a period of forty-six years, from 1350-1396, or to the sixth year of Henry III.

Two modern works on the Constitution of Castille have guided me in this essay, as they did Henry Hallam in his account of Spain in *The Middle Ages*. They are entitled *Teoria de las Cortes* (3 vols.), and *Ensayo Historico-Critico sobre la Legislacion de los Reinos de Leon y Castilla*, etc. (2 vols., Madrid, 1834), by Dr. Francisco Martinez Marina, Canon of the Church of St. Isidore of Madrid, and Associate of the Royal Spanish Academy of History, and of the Academy of Literature at Barcelona. Two other works just issued from the press will be useful guides,—one, to the exploits of Edward III and his son the Black Prince, as well as to events of the previous reigns. It is intitled *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, edited, with notes, by Dr. Edward Maunde Thompson, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, etc. (Oxford, 1889). The other, *La France pendant la*

Guerre de Cent Ans, par Simeon Luce. (Hachette and Co.)

As a prelude to the reign of Peter the Cruel we may cast an eye over the previous history of Spain after the fall of the Roman empire. The Visigothic kingdom, after being established there for three hundred years, was overthrown by the Mahometans under Taric, during the caliphate of Walid. He, after the battle fought near Xerez in 708, soon made himself master of the whole country.

When the Caliphs of the Ommiad dynasty at Damascus had been superseded by the Abbassides, these latter removed the seat of government to Bagdad; but one of the princes of the Ommiades in Spain refused to submit to the change of dynasty, and declared himself independent Caliph and Father of the Faithful, fixing his capital city at Cordova instead of Seville, where it had been before. Here the Ommiades reigned with much credit to their nation, and Spain became the great centre of literature, science, and the fine arts, during many generations. A conspiracy at Cordova, in 1030, against Hixem the Caliph, at last caused the downfall of the dynasty; after which the division of the Moorish kingdom into independent sovereignties at Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Lisbon, Saragossa, Tortosa, Valencia, Murcia, etc., facilitated the gradual progress of the Christian arms.

The mountains of Asturias were a safe refuge for the small Christian community under Pelayo. Next the kingdom of Leon asserted its independence. Navarre and Sobrarbe founded small kingdoms at the foot of the Pyrenees, and the community of the town of Jaca expanded into the kingdom of Arragon.

Charlemagne had entered Spain in 778, and captured Pampeluna in 791. Catalonia was then conquered by him as far as the Ebro, and his son extended the conquest to Barcelona and Lerida. This province was afterwards governed by the Counts of Barcelona as a fief of France, till 1180, when documents ceased to be dated by years of the French reigns, and it became merged into the kingdom of Arragon.

At the beginning of the eleventh century Sancho the Great, King of Navarre and Arragon, gave to his son

Ferdinand the title of Count of Castille, thus dismembering that province from the kingdom of Leon. The whole, on the death in battle of Bermudo III, King of Leon, fell to Ferdinand, who thus became King of Leon and Castille. Alphonso VI captured Toledo from the Moors in 1085, and Alphonso of Arragon took Saragossa in 1118.

When Leon and Castille were again divided the old jealousies and wars among the Christians continued for nearly a century, which strengthened the hands of the Moors. Ferdinand III permanently united the principalities in 1238. James I of Arragon, surnamed the Conqueror, reduced Valencia, the Balearic Isles, and Murcia, under his sway; but, although Ferdinand and James had captured the three principal Moorish cities, yet two hundred and fifty years were to elapse before Spain should be free from the Mahometan government, and the Cross supplant the Crescent on the towers of the Alhambra at Granada.

The kingdom of PORTUGAL owed its origin to a Burgundian prince. Alphonso VI of Castille had greatly extended his Kingdom by the capture of Toledo in 1085, after it had been 368 years in possession of the Moors. Alphonso's daughter, Theresa, married Count Henry of Burgundy. This Count held his court at Guimaraens, in Portugal, and showed his ambition to carve out for himself a kingdom which should be independent of his father-in-law of Castille. His pedigree was a good one, as he was descended from Hugh Capet by his father, and from the Counts of Burgundy in the female line. Hugh Capet's son was Robert (the Saint), who had two sons, Robert, first Duke of Burgundy, and Henry, first King of France. Count Henry was grandson of Robert, first Duke of Burgundy. He died in 1112, after gaining seventeen battles against the Moors. His son, Alphonso Henry, became Count and afterwards King of Portugal. He was born 1094, and went to war at the age of fourteen. He captured Lisbon in 1148, and gained the famous battle on the plains of Ourique against five Moorish kings. Dying in 1185 he left his son Sancho to complete the conquest of the kingdom of Algarve; who died in 1212.

The figure who stands out pre-eminently in Castilian history of the thirteenth century was Alphonso X, son of the Ferdinand who conquered Seville. Alphonso was brother-in-law of our Edward I, who married his sister Eleanor. Marina justly claims for him the honour of having associated wisdom and philosophy in the counsels of a king. Educated among students, and inflamed more and more with the desire after knowledge, he sought it amidst the cares of government and the clang of arms, and surrounded himself with men who were competent to pursue the study of science and wisdom. Charles V of France has been honoured with the surname of The Wise, by his chroniclers, but Alphonso of Castille had preceded him by a hundred years.

Alphonso had found gross ignorance in his country, even among the clergy, who were supposed to have the monopoly of learning; to many of them the Latin language was unknown, as appears by an ordinance of the Council of Valladolid, 1228, in which it was ruled that no clergyman should be appointed to any benefice unless he knew how to speak Latin. Alphonso ordered that existing laws written in Latin should be translated into the vulgar tongue for the benefit of civilians, and by requiring it to be used in all legal proceedings first made the Castilian a national language. He caused the Bible to be translated into it,¹ which preceded by a century the translation by John Wycliff into our own tongue of the Book which has done more than any other to stereotype our English prose. Alphonso encouraged the knowledge of languages, also of dialectics and philosophy, and especially did he seek to found a government based on law and order, by fostering the science of law. The Alphonsine astronomical tables were the means of educating the rest of Europe. He cultivated also the study of history, poetry, music, physics, mathematics, astrology, arithmetic, and geometry, which for the most part had been neglected in Christian countries before the thirteenth century. He encouraged the clergy also to learn the natural sciences as well as theology; and those who held benefices were allowed to absent themselves for five years, for the purpose of studying them,

¹ *Mariana Hista.*, lib. xiv, c. 7.

provision being duly made for substitutes in their absence. This was made a law by the Council of Valladolid in 1228. Marina gives a long list of books composed or edited by the learned monarch; but his great work was the codification of Spanish law, under the name of the *Code of the Seven Divisions*, which, if it did not at once become the first authority on Spanish law, was quoted in the Cortes of Segovia in 1347, and in those of Alcatá in 1348, since which it has been generally recognised and acted upon. All the works of Alphonso X were ordered to be collected, edited, and published, some time after 1801, by the Royal Academy of History, of which Marina was the principal, and he deplores the apathy of his country in delaying for so many years the printing of this complete collection.

The code of the *siete partidas* was founded on the old Gothic laws. *Jus judicum*, known by the barbarous title of *Fuero juzgo*, confirmed by former precedents and judgments delivered, and doubtless Roman law, had its influence in the formation of this code, which was in use among the various municipalities; a subject which will be reverted to hereafter.

In the meantime let us refer to some events embraced in the latter half of the fourteenth century, in the times of the three Peters, that is the first of Castille, the first of Portugal and the second of Arragon. Each of these is favoured by historians with the epithet of The Cruel, though chiefly in imitation of Peter of Castille, who enjoyed the surname *par excellence*, for the others do not seem to have deserved it. Peter I of Portugal fell in love with the beautiful Inez de Castro, and the unruly barons murdered the young lady and disowned the King. His revenge was less cruel than the murder. He ordered the body to be dug up after lying some time in the grave, and the courtiers were made to kiss the hands of the corpse, and own allegiance to her. Let us hope that the real interpretation of this fact was, that when the King transported the remains of Inez to the monastery of Alcobaça, and there placed a beautiful effigy in marble to her memory, the courtiers had probably to attend and offer their tribute of honour at the tomb. The poet Camoens, however, has embalmed the more sentimental

story in his immortal *Lusiad*, and he has done the same for the famous Battle of Aljubarotta, where the Portuguese King completely defeated the Castilian, John I, who was invading his country to claim the Crown of Portugal in right of his wife Beatrice.

The father of Peter of Castille had some illegitimate children by the famous Da. Leonor de Guzman, and the eldest of them was Henry of Trastamara, afterwards King Henry II. He set up his claim to the throne in opposition to Peter, who sought for aid from no less a person than our Edward the Black Prince, whom he "interviewed" at Bordeaux, offering him in return the province of Biscay.

The Black Prince accepted the invitation, and gained a complete victory over Henry of Trastamara at the Battle of Najera or Navarrete in 1367, taking prisoner the famous general Bertram du Guesclin, who was assisting Henry in the interest of the King of France. The price of the Black Prince's support, however, was never made over by Peter the Cruel, and at a subsequent battle the Castilian Peter lost his crown and his life at the hands of his half brother, who became King of Castille as Henry II. This King, on account of his somewhat imperfect title to the Crown, took care to preserve inviolate the constitutional privileges of the nation, which his predecessors had been inclined to encroach upon. The incorporation of towns with civil rights and extensive property was some counterbalance to the territorial aristocracy, and began in Spain at the time when the great barons were assuming the independence of petty princes throughout Europe. The earliest instance of a chartered town was in 1020, when Alphonso V, in the Cortes held at Leon, established the privileges of that city, with a regular code of laws by which it should be governed. The citizens of Carrion, Llanes, and other towns were incorporated by the same prince.

Sancho the Great gave a similar constitution to Najara. Sepulveda had its code of laws in 1076 from Alphonso VI. In the same reign Logrono and Sahagun acquired their privileges; and Salamanca not long afterwards. The territory held by chartered towns was frequently very extensive, far beyond any comparison

with corporations in our own country or in France. In every town the King appointed a governor to receive the usual tribute and watch over the police, and fortified places within the district, but the administration of justice was exclusively reserved to the inhabitants and their elected judges. In recompense for these concessions the incorporated towns were bound to certain money payments and to military service. The royal governor and magistrates raised and commanded the militia. Every man of certain property was bound to serve on horseback at his own expense, and was exempted in return from the payment of taxes. Hence the noble class or *caballeros*, and the *pesheros* or rate-payers. The three military orders of Calatrava (1158), Santiago (1175), and Alcantara. This latter a branch from the Knights of Calatrava at a later period; all helped to serve in the defence, and had colleges and walled towns in different parts of the country.

The military importance of the towns led to the power which, through their representatives, they possessed in the Cortes, and by which they were enabled to control the expenditure of the State, and to insist on the proper application of the sums voted to the purposes intended. Although deputies of the towns are considered to have attended the Cortes at an earlier date than 1188, the first year of Alphonso XI, when they are expressly mentioned, it is certain that after that time they constantly formed part of the national assemblies.

At the Cortes of Burgos, in 1315, there were 192 representatives from more than ninety towns; at those of Madrid, in 1391, 126 were sent by fifty towns, yet there is much irregularity in summoning the representatives; and privileges seem to have afterwards lapsed or to have been withdrawn, for, by the year 1480, only seventeen cities had retained the privilege of representation.¹

From the reign of Sancho IV the spiritual and temporal nobility took less share and retained less influence than they formerly had in the deliberations of the Cortes. There is a protest, in 1295, of the Archbishop of Toledo, because neither he nor the other prelates had been

¹ Hallam's *Middle Ages*.

admitted to their discussions. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were more and more excluded ; none of the prelates were summoned to the Cortes of 1299 and 1301 ; none either of the prelates or nobles to those of 1370 or 1373, but the King exercised very freely a prerogative of calling or omitting persons of both the higher orders at his discretion. The forms of the Castilian Cortes resembled those of an English Parliament in the fourteenth century, and they were summoned by a writ expressed in the terms used among us. The smaller council consulted by the King, answered exactly to the King's ordinary Council in England.¹

It is not surprising that the Crown should use means at command for restraining the lawlessness of the armed aristocracy, as these claimed the right of forming a brotherhood to advise the King when he was acting contrary to their wishes, and, in case of need, to take up arms to compel him to conform to what they considered right.

This privilege of the *Hermandad*, or brotherhood of nobles, they justified by one of the laws of Alphonso X, and they appealed to this when they coalesced against Alvaro de Luna, the favourite of John II, and brought him to trial and to the scaffold.

Under a literary aspect the royal poet, Alphonso X, had been succeeded by many writers of merit, who as chroniclers were poets. Juan Nunez de Villaizan wrote a history of Alphonso XI, from 1312 to 1350. Juan de Mena, 1429 to 1445, was the leading poet of his time, as well as being a royal annalist.

An adventure in the reign of John II is very characteristic of the times. It is the *passo honroso*, or passage of honour, a description of tournaments held during thirty days, at Orbigo near Leon, in 1433, when the road was crowded with knights passing to the shrine of Santiago. The challenger was Suero de Quiñones, a nobleman who stood up against all comers to vindicate his release from the bonds of his lady-love, who kept him a prisoner in chains, but an iron-wire chain about his neck was all that was necessary to restrain this grim warrior. Nine champions took the part of Quinones, and

¹ Hallam's *Middle Ages*.

sixty-eight had opposed his claim. At this passage of love and arms no less than 627 encounters took place, sixty-six lances were broken, one knight was killed and many wounded, among whom were Quinones himself and eight out of his nine fellow-champions.

Pero Nino, Count Buelna, was one of the remarkable men of his time, who flourished 1379 to 1453. He was a distinguished naval and military commander in the reigns of Henry III and John II, and his chronicle was the work of Gutierre Diez de Gamez, his standard-bearer in many a rash and bloody fight.

The chronicle of the Constable Alvaro de Luna was next in succession, by an unknown hand. It was composed between 1453 and 1460, and gives an interesting account of the rise and fall of the great Constable, which is compared by Ticknor to Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*. But this is rather beyond the limit of my theme as to date.

Referring now to synchronous events in England. Let us first notice some acts under our Henry III and the first two Edwards, leading up to the period under review. Henry III, from the beginning of his reign, had to encounter the jealousy of the English barons, twenty-four of their order having combined to form a union for resisting the foreign influences of the King as well as checking the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. The Provisions of Oxford, in 1258, were designed to provide for the future regulation of the kingdom, while the clergy, in their Convocation at Merton, were equally active in deliberating upon their own privileges, though not so powerful as the barons in vindicating them.

Peter de Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciary, had succeeded to power after the death of the Earl of Pembroke, Protector in the early part of the reign. De Burgh was displaced in 1227, and these disturbances led to the civil war which resulted in the battle of Lewes in 1264, and of Evesham in 1265, when the famous Earl of Leicester was killed. These various events may be compared with affairs in Castille after the Council of Valladolid in 1228.

The power of the Parliament in both countries was gradually augmented through their furnishing the sup-

plies necessary for carrying on the wars, and by means of which the kingly power often had to submit to somewhat humiliating terms. As to the date of representation through the Commons in our own country, if it cannot be fixed with certainty earlier than the 49th Henry III, that is on 12th December 1264, when writs were issued to cities and boroughs, it then becomes a recognised fact.

As a parallel to the power of the Castilian towns by means of their military organisation, London may be mentioned, which took the part of the barons in their wars, as they had previously, when assisting to depose William Longchamp, the Chancellor and Justiciary of Richard I. The Commons gradually insisted not only in limiting the money-aids they voted, but also in knowing that these were properly applied. One of the first acts of our Edward I was to confirm the charters, and to clip the wings of the clergy by the Statute of Mortmain. When he summoned a Parliament to meet at Salisbury, no churchmen were admitted to it.

Sancho IV of Castille obtained the crown to the prejudice of his nephews, the Infants of La Cerda, who were sons of the late King. This uncle may be likened to our John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who kept out the elder branch of the royal family, that is the house of York, from the throne.

John of Gaunt married, in second espousals, Constance, illegitimate daughter of Peter the Cruel, and their second daughter, Isabella, was married to Edmund Duke of York. When the Duke of Lancaster made his expedition into Spain, in 1386, with a great train of knights and esquires, to claim the crown of Castille in right of his wife, the King, his father, gave him a crown of gold, and another to his Duchess.¹

His grandfather, Edward II, had the same trouble on his hands as Ferdinand IV of Castille, son of the before named Sancho. Some of the nobles, in union with the great houses of Lara and Haro, fomented the divisions in taking up the cause of the Infants of La Cerda. This King, Ferdinand IV, had the surname of "The Summoned" given him by the chroniclers, because he disregarded the law which prohibited a king from exercising

¹ Baker's *Chronicle*.

summary jurisdiction. Two supposed murderers were ordered by King Ferdinand to be executed on the spot, without form of trial, and the prisoners challenged him to appear before the tribunal of Heaven within thirty days. On the thirtieth day the King was found dead in his bed. Hence he was called the *Emplazado*, or "The Summoned". The mystery attending the death of this youth at the early age of twenty-five has a parallel in the circumstances and whispers of mystery attending the decease of our own Edward II. It was also reported in Castille that some who had to do with the disestablishment of the Knights Templars at this time had also been summoned as had been Ferdinand IV.

The combination of nobles in Castille was carried out in a very businesslike way, all swearing to be loyal to the cause and to each other, and not to act without the consent of the whole brotherhood.

(To be continued.)



Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 1ST APRIL 1891.

W. F. LAXTON, ESQ., F.S.A.; HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE following member was duly elected : Colin Dunlop Donald, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., 172 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Collections relating to Montgomeryshire," Vol. xxv, I, Part XLVII, April 1891.

„ „ for "Archæologia" of the Society of Antiquaries, Vol. 52.

The following communication was read :

FRAGMENT OF SAXON STONEWORK, WITH PAINTING ON IT, DISCOVERED
AT PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

The small drawing herewith sent presents a copy of early painting on a stone belonging to the Saxon monastery of Peterborough. It was found re-used as wall-stone in the foundation of the gable-wall of the south transept; part of the first work erected after the fire of 1116. When found, the colours were about the brightness represented in sketch; but since have much faded, from exposure to light and air. Though the stone may be of Saxon date, the painting belongs probably to the Norman period; any way it is prior to the year of the fire in 1116. Along with the major part of the other fragments of interest, this came from certain layers of the Norman sleeper-walls, or foundations; it may be permitted, therefore, to briefly describe their character.

The general lines of the various walls and arcades of the new Abbey Church having been marked out on the ground, ditches of somewhat wider space than the intended walls, etc., were dug along such lines. This to a depth judged in those days sufficient. The bottom of such ditch was very roughly treated; in some cases the two sides, in a transverse section, differing in depth to no less than 1 ft. Into this ditch pieces of limestone, from the smallest size up to that of 6 in. to

10 in., were placed, with that gravelly clay locally termed "pit-mortar". When a certain thickness was thus produced, a coating from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 in. in thickness, of ordinary, dark earth, was laid over it; and in the whole height of the rude foundation, these layers occurred not less than twice, and often three times. On these layers of small limestone, etc., reaching what had been the grass-surface, old wrought stones of Barnack rag, from the walls of the burnt Saxon buildings, were brought, and two or three courses of these placed along the edges of the foundation-wall, but projecting 3 or 4 in. over the grass. When first seen they were supposed to be through bond; but found to be no such thing, the space of wall between being always filled in with the small limestone. On the level surface so produced by the top course began the actual ashlar of the present building; but which, strange to say, is scarcely ever wide enough to insist on these, or but rarely to reach them. As in the case of the strongly outlined early paintings, these courses seemed intended to merely outline on the ground the foundation-walls.

From these courses came, as a rule, almost all the re-used fragments of interest found during the underpinning, and not from the lower foundations. For a considerable time the object of the thin earth courses could not be understood, but eventually it appeared as a rude plan intended to let the foundation accommodate its settlement where the weights over considerably differed, as the loose material on which it rested sank; thus evading direct or positive fracture by suffering the mass to bend and buckle to the weight (by number of joints).

These Norman sleeper-wall foundations nowhere reached the limestone layer of rock which everywhere underlies the site of "Medeshampstead", save in one small bit of 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in width. This, at a point under the west wall of the north transept, just a little in *front* of the north wall of the nave-aisle. The Norman foundation-ditch had there crossed, and laid open a much earlier ditch, deep enough to enter the limestone rock, and very probably that of the north boundary of the monastery destroyed in 870, for the Saxon burials were seen to be at a higher level. Here this deeper slip had been filled in with herring-bone work of larger limestone fragments, differing only in the want of mortar from the lower parts of the Roman walls seen at Cas-tre. Out of this ditch came most of the abundant supply (upwards of one hundred fragments) of the so-termed "wedge-bricks", found with many fragments of black ware, flat pieces of the same hard-burnt clay, (but no coins), and only one piece of Samian ware. Of the "wedge-bricks", or "tines", no flat top was found, nor among all this number any piece showing diminution to the two ends, as some suppose they did, nor was a whole one found.

After discussion, the next communication was as follows :

NOTES ON A STONE COFFIN FOUND AT CORSTON.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.

A short time ago a stone coffin was discovered in a field called "Lower Botmore", near the village of Corston, in Somersetshire. The discovery was made while ploughing a deep furrow, when the ploughshare chipped the lid. The ploughman, seeing the freestone, became interested, searched further, and unearthed the coffin.

This coffin is formed of a block of Bath oolite, and was 7 in. beneath the surface. The lid was composed of two flat stones shaped to fit the coffin, and measured 6 ft. 3 in., and the breadth at the shoulders is 17 in. The sides of the coffin are 4 in. thick, and both are broken in. This was, doubtless, owing to frost. The oolite would absorb water in winter time, and this changing to ice would burst the sides.

When the lid was removed, a skeleton, presumably that of a woman, was disclosed to view. It was in fairly good preservation, and the body had evidently occupied the whole cavity in the stone, which measured 5 ft. 6 in. in length. This cavity was carefully rounded at the head, and square at the feet. Near the feet was a brown, powdery substance, and a few small, corroded iron nails or studs. The brown substance is, doubtless, the remains of the leather sandals worn by the deceased at the time of burial. Through the kindness of Mr. F. Ellis I am enabled to exhibit these nails, and it will be seen that they are smaller than those found in the *caligæ*, the heavy military sandals worn by the Roman soldiery.

Near the spot where the coffin was discovered, a small piece of dark pottery was found, which is possibly of the third or fourth century. At that time Bath was a flourishing Roman city, and the country around would be studded with the villas of the wealthy colonists. Corston is only three miles from Bath, and it is not unlikely that this interment was in the private grounds of some country villa. It is not improbable that other interments may be found in a straight line with this one. In many similar discoveries, notably in the case of the six stone coffins found in Russell Street, Bath, in 1852, this was found to be the case.

In a letter to the Editor of *The Western Daily Press*, Mr. F. Ellis remarks : " A similar coffin, with skeleton, was found in the same district some years since ; and a Roman villa was cut through near Newton in making the Great Western Railway line at that place, the pavement of which is now in the British Museum, but unfortunately in a very fragmentary state."

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, described the Roman wall at

Lincoln, a survey of which he had recently conducted. In his opinion the standing wall formed part of a building, with traces of an arch in it. Portions of an older edifice, mixed up as old material, are still visible in the wall. He promised to exhibit a drawing at another meeting.

Mr. Bodger of Peterborough sent an exhibition, of which the following is the list :—

1. Flint celt from Gravel Pit, Waternewton.
2. Vase found in old sewer beneath the Old Cross Keys Inn, Bridge Street—a publichouse to which the Cromwellian soldiers resorted after devastating the Minster. This sewer was originally part of the moat surrounding the Abbey buildings, and connected the main entrance with the river.
3. Bronze celt found in Peterborough.
4. Bulla of Pope Innocent IV, with the busts of St. Peter and St. Paul, found in levelling the site of Barnwell Priory, Cambridge.
5. Glass with potter's mark and name, "R. Church." Barnwell Priory, Cambridge.
6. Three pieces of bronze ornament and one Nuremberg jetton. Barnwell Priory, Cambridge.
7. Roman colander found with bones, bronze coins, and other Roman pottery, at Sibson near Wansford.
8. Fragment of large vase of Samian ware, unusual in the exquisite grace of the curve; also showing an original *rivet* of metal used to piece together the vase, which must have been broken when in the Roman house. It is the first example of the kind I know exhumed in this neighbourhood. Also from Sibson.

Mr. J. Macmichael exhibited a large collection of ancient glass from Glasshouse Street, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and some relics in the possession of Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., F.S.A.Scot., among them being three ancient fids, or marling-spikes, of whalebone.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited sketches of the "Old Red Lion" inn which formerly stood in Holywell Street, Strand; and of old houses in London.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited two mediæval iron weapons recently found in Tabard Street, Southwark,—1, a sword; 2, a scythe.

Dr. J. Phené, F.S.A., read a paper on British and Italian pre-Roman antiquities, and illustrated his remarks with a copious series of finely drawn diagrams. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 15 APRIL 1891.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

R. Blair, Esq., South Shields, was elected an Honorary Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Smithsonian Report", 1888; and "Smithsonian Report, U.S. National Museum", 1888.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, laid on the table a drawing of a well-known mass of Roman masonry which formed part of the Roman north wall of Lincoln. It is in a line to the north of the Newport arch, and it was one of the antiquities visited during the Congress at Lincoln. The core of the wall only is left, and it consists of rough ragstone embedded in hard mortar, similar in character to the long length of the east wall which still remains in private grounds.

On examination it appears that this mass of walling has had other buildings attached to it on the south, for there are clear traces of an arched passage along its whole extent, the spring of the vaulting being apparent. The wall proves to be of somewhat late Roman workmanship, for built up in its mass are two or three portions of Roman concrete of pounded red brick, tiles, and evidence that these materials were derived from some prior Roman building, and reused when the wall was erected. Many of the courses are laid diagonally, herring-bonewise; and there are a number of square holes which go through the wall, similar to the putlog-holes so frequently found in mediæval buildings. These may have had a similar use here, or they may have been for the construction of timber-hoarding above and beyond the wall.

Mr. Oliver exhibited several drawings of ornamental, encaustic tiles of fourteenth century date, the originals of which were found, in 1840, among the ruins of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. Some of the designs were similar to other tiles found in London at various times.

Mr. Earle Way laid on the table a further exhibition of antiquities found in Southwark, where he has already been able to recover so many relics of former times exhibited on recent occasions. Among the articles now exhibited was a fine Flemish vase of late sixteenth century date; some soles of shoes with pointed toes, of the fashion of the middle of the fourteenth century; a Roman horseshoe of flat form; a hippo-sandal with a tang at the back, made to assist the strapping on. It has been exposed to the action of intense heat. A bronze caduceus, from a statuette of Mercury, was also exhibited.

An exhaustive paper was then read by Mr. Salt Brassington on the Library adjoining the Cathedral of Gloucester, which it is hoped will appear in a future *Journal*.

An animated discussion followed the reading of the paper. A large number of drawings of the various bindings of the books referred to, and rubbings of several of the patterns, were exhibited; and the styles adopted were further illustrated by the production of some charming examples of old bindings in relief, of sixteenth century date.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., exhibited a miscellaneous collection of antiquities, and read the following notes upon the objects:—

"1. A portion of a tessellated pavement from Burgate, Canterbury, in black, white, yellow, and red tesserae; the fragment of a much larger portion now in the Museum, Canterbury, appears much worn. By the feet of whom?

"2. A wine-cooler of the Roman period, also from Canterbury, but made apparently at Upchurch. It possesses an Eastern element although made in the West. The shape is very peculiar,—two cups with sloping sides, inverted, one on the other.

"3. An upright Saxon vessel, rounded, with delicate, spreading hand-grasps (one restored), of fine red pottery, unglazed, and peculiarly elegant in design. No doubt a drinking-vessel. The shape, if not unique, is very uncommon. Disinterred from Canterbury this year.

"*Glass*.—This portion of the exhibition contains a large number of fine fragments of Roman glass from Capri, and one fine fragment from London. These were remains of drinking-glasses (*cyathi*) and wine-bowls (*scyphi*), with the exception of two cameo and one inlaid examples. Very nearly all are coloured,—blue, orange, yellow, green, purple; threaded; and two imitations of murra (murrine), purples with sweeping stripes of white. These are undoubtedly imitations of Pliny's true murrhine, according with his description. One green specimen has within it a leaf in deeper green. The sweeping bands of jacinth, yellow, blue, with white stripes, all imitate the natural layers in murra, with novel colours introduced. Mr. Mayhew is disposed to name Egypt as the birthplace of the art imitative of murrhine, although afterwards practised in Rome; and in support of the theory laid before our members an exquisite alabastron of green glass, opaque, in shades, with red intermixed, and swathed in bands (as murrhine) of silvery lustre."

Discussion and explanation followed, supported by a further exhibition of most rare and exquisite reproductions of murrhine glass from the Vatican Library and Musée Bourbonico. They are the work of Castellani and the elder Salviati, and were made for the great French Exhibition, when they took three gold medals.

Three *patellæ* and five or six wine-bowls. Coloured photographs would not convey a right idea of their beauty; it must suffice to refer to Mr. Mayhew's paper on murrhine glass, adding here, of the *patellæ*, one is in stripes of vivid white, blue, green, yellow, and purple; another of grey lustre, but beaded, and inlaid with the foliage of jacinth; a third with body of rose-colour, inlaid with greens and flowers.

Of the bowls, about 3 in. deep, with diameter 6 to 10 in.,—*a*, of green, with purple spirals and threaded edge, inlaid with crystals, and golden glass; *b*, a deeper bowl, green, sapphires by transmitted light discovering foliage in the glass, with threaded orange-flowers rising to the surface; *c*, a transparent bowl in threaded patterns, with patches of purple, white, and yellow worked in; *d*, another, of dull, unpolished purple, but by transmitted light a body-colour of brilliant jacinth, in which very numerous scrolls of agate appear; *e*, another of dull red, imitating madrepore, the fossil corals appearing in star-shapes. No fragment is of ruby, the nearest approach being rose-red.

The exhibition was much appreciated.

Indian Glass.—Within an Indian frame of old and heavy wood, incised, and thickly gilded, is a deep oval, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$, backed by deep blue glass resembling enamel. Around the outer edge is an oval formed of fillets of blue and gold; central is a shrine with two gold recesses, each containing a gem. Five uprights of exquisite turquoise glass laced with white, and divided duplex, twisted bands of gold glass support the transverse, also gemmed with carbuncles and garnets. On either side of the altar-slabs are two Indian pinnacles in opaque, white glass; the one barred, the other gemmed. Centrally sit the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child, with gemmed coronets, and formed from blue glass, almost black. The thin edges of the draperies are all of twisted glass gilded. The body of the Virgin appears in pearly glass. Beneath the altar is a bar of red-striped glass gemmed with turquoise. Eight five-pointed stars, gilded and gemmed, artificially or really complete the oval.

From its Indian influences this unique work has been referred to Goa, and in connection with the Cathedral may represent the Virgin Patroness. If of Indian work, it is a rare specimen of glass-work indeed. Pliny writes of Indian glass as the best then known. Might not some Italian workers of the sixteenth century have found a home and sphere for their wondrous skill in Goa? (Acts ix, v. 24.)

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 6 MAY 1891.

W. F. LAXTON, Esq., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The ballot was declared open, and at the close of the usual interval taken with the following result:

President.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF RIPON.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.

ARTHUR CATES, Esq., F.S.A.

WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.

H. SYME CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

J. EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., P.S.A.

A. W. FRANKS, Esq., C.B., M.A., F.R.S.,

V.P.S.A.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.

W. F. LAXTON, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.,
F.Z.S.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.

E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.

Honorary Treasurer.

WM. FREDK. LAXTON, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Palmographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.

Council.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

R. BAGSTER, Esq.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.

ALGERNON BRENT, Esq., F.R.G.S.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq.

R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,

F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

RICHARD HOWLETT, Esq., F.S.A.

A. G. LANGDON, Esq.

J. T. MOULD, Esq.

A. OLIVER, Esq.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.

R. RABSON, Esq., B.A.

W. ROOPE, Esq.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

R. E. WAY, Esq.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

Auditors.

O. MARRIAGE, Esq.

J. H. MACMICHAEL, Esq.

J. Carlisle McCowan, Esq., Barrister-at-Law
 Capt. C. J. McCowan, Esq., 42 Notting-hill Square, London,
 were elected members.

The Chairman moved the following amendment to Rule 2, p. iii, which was carried :

"That Rule 2 be altered by adding 'This Rule not to apply to members of Council elected after the Annual Meeting to fill up vacancies in the Council.'"

Mr. C. H. Compton moved for a sub-committee of three members to be appointed to revise the rules, and report to the first Meeting in November. This was carried, and Messrs. Laxton, Compton, and Allen appointed, with the two Hon. Secretaries *ex officio*.

The Chairman read the Balance-Sheet, and made a statement respecting the financial condition of the Association, which he considered satisfactory.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the Secretaries' Report for the year 1890:

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the past year 1890.

"1. By comparing the list of members in the current Number of the *Journal*, dated 31 March 1891, a total of about 344 names is shown, which shows a considerable falling off from the past year.

"2. During 1890 a large number of works have been presented to the Library. The action of the Library Sub-Committee will determine the future of these and the other books of the Association.

"3. Twenty-nine of the most interesting papers read at the recent Congress held at Lincoln, or during the progress of the session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* for 1890, which is illustrated with several plates, some of which have been wholly or in part contributed by the liberality of our friends and Associates, to whom grateful recognition is due in this behalf.

"4. The Hon. Secretaries are glad to announce that they have in hand a good number of papers relating to the Oxford Congress, and read in London session, accepted by the Council for publication and illustration in the *Journal* as circumstances will permit.

"W. DE G. BIRCH } *Hon. Secs.*
 E. P. L. BROCK }

The progress of proceedings for the Congress at York was communicated to the members, and the Chairman proposed the Most Hon. the Marquess of Ripon for President, which was adopted unanimously.

Mr. C. Williams made a suggestion for occasional meetings in the

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1890.

| RECEIPTS. | | EXPENDITURE. | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|---|------------------|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| Annual subscriptions | 233 2 0 | Balance overdrawn, 1889 | 33 18 4 |
| Sale of publications | 32 3 9 | Editing <i>Journal</i> | 42 10 0 |
| Life-subscriptions | 21 0 0 | Illustrations to the same | 13 14 6 |
| Entrance-fees | 7 7 0 | Miscellaneous printing and advertising | 6 5 6 |
| Sale of Index | 3 8 0 | Delivery of <i>Journals</i> , three quarters | 11 4 7 |
| Balance from Oxford Congress | 5 1 7 | Rent and salaries | 68 13 0 |
| | | Stationery, postage, and incidentals | 6 16 7 |
| | | Insurance of books at Printers' and Mr. Brock's | 5 15 0 |
| | <u>£302 2 4</u> | | <u>£188 17 6</u> |
| | | Balance at Bank | 113 4 10 |
| | | | <u>£302 2 4</u> |

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

W. ESSINGTON HUGHES } Auditors.
MICHAEL RABSON }

18th February 1891.

Outstanding liabilities for 1890, since paid :—
Printing account . . . £147 8 6
Delivery of December *Journals* . . . 4 1 8

Home Counties. The discussion upon this was adjourned to a future time.

Mr. Brock announced the discovery of underground Roman remains of great extent, and unusual interest, at Lincoln, near the columns inspected during the recent Congress in that city. A detailed account of the find will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

The Meeting closed with the customary votes of thanks to the supporters of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH MAY 1891.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. J. H. Macmichael exhibited finds made at the sign of "The Leopard" in Budge Row, and at Charing Cross Road; also some Samian ware; and read the following remarks upon them:—

"Mr. O. H. Davis, at the sign of 'The Leopard', in Budge Row, Cannon Street, is, I submit, worthy of all praise for the way in which he has preserved several antiquities which have been unearthed on the site of his offices at the above address. Chief amongst these is the splendidly preserved stone sign of 'The Leopard', alluded to erstwhile in my paper upon the Signs of London, and of which a beautiful photograph, kindly lent by him, was duly exhibited. I will endeavour briefly to enumerate the interesting antiquities dug up, at a depth of from 15 to 18 ft., at the time the sign was discovered:—

"1st. A large spindle-whorl, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$; sometimes, I believe, erroneously considered a fishing-weight.

"2nd. A bone comb having an axe-shaped handle ornamented with incised, straight lines. Teeth one side only.

"3rd. A pair of compasses which, if not Roman, certainly had their origin in the Anglo-Norman *circinus*, to the use of which uncivilised peoples were strangers; the earliest productions of art, exhibiting, as they do, the employment of the hand for tracing a circle.

"4th. A two-pronged fork which has been used for hay or for stable purposes, or an ordinary pitchfork. There is one of the same shape, supposed by the author to be a Roman hay-fork, illustrated in Rich's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, and which was dug out of a bog near Peterborough.

"5th. A narrow-bladed knife with the tang turned up, as if (the handle having become detached) it had been suspended for further use at the belt.

"6th. This is probably the most interesting object of all. It is a bone handle of considerable thickness, measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in circum-

ference, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ long. The exact length cannot, however, be defined since the lower part of the handle has been broken away at the hilt. The ornamentation consists of a number of circular perforations which form an ornamental band nearly 1 in. in width in the middle of the handle, and which is bordered on both sides by a series of indented incisions and incised lines alternated. These incisions are of careful workmanship, and the fracture at the hilt suggests that the handle belonged to some weapon like a dagger, the violent use of which had broken off the blade.

"7th. Two *poculi* and *pateræ* to match. These are four perfect, earthen vessels of the red Roman ware. Though not bearing any kind of ornamentation, there is a twofold interest attached to them apart from their having that lustrous glaze of which the secret is lost. They bear the impression of a foot (the Aretiné potter's mark), in the same way that the gauntlet tobacco-pipes made at Amesbury, in Wilts, bore the impression of a gloved hand; and the larger *patera* has handed down to us the private monogram of its former Roman owner in the form of a *graffito*, evidently scratched with the *graphium* or *stylus*, and which appears to consist of the double I, which in potters' marks and other inscriptions stands for E, and an R reversed.

"We often hear of the Samian ware being highly prized by its possessors, but it seems to have been depreciated by those who could afford to have their utensils of the precious metals, since in Plautus we find an interesting passage relating to the comparative importance of Samian vessels and those made of gold and silver. Philocrates is engaged in ill-natured gossip, and says,—

‘To let you know more of his character,
In sacrificing to his household genius
He uses nothing but vile Samian,
For fear the gods should steal them.
Mark by this
What trust he puts in others.’

Captivi (The Captives), Act ii, Sc. ii.

"8th. Having purchased of a workman what I believe to be a glazed, earthenware posset-pot of superior fabric, and which I saw unearthed in Charing Cross Road, I showed it to our Vice-President, Mr. Cuming, under the impression that it belonged to the Stuart period,—an impression which was strengthened, if not confirmed, by Mr. Cuming producing a pewter vessel of the same size, form, and design, with the difference that it had the graduated lines within by which was computed the amount of blood to be taken from a person undergoing phlebotomy; for the vessel is a formidable looking bleeding-cup or basin, and was found in the Thames in 1849.

"9th. A candlestick consisting of a solid, circular piece of stone, in the centre of which is bored a hole for the socket. It reminds one

of the primitive oil-lamp of the stone period. This, if not primitive, at any rate *homely* utensil might belong to any age contemporary with the use of candles, and prior to the manufacture of cheap earthenware candlesticks. It was dug up on the site of Messrs. Harrisons' printing establishment in St. Martin's Lane, with a quantity of other pottery, which are duly preserved in a glass case immediately within the premises, and which it would repay Associates to visit.

"10th. *A bone hair-bodkin* carved in the Anglo-Saxon style of interlaced scrollwork so common to the nations of the North. In vol. iii of the *Journal* Mr. Cuming calls attention to the only other object to which I can trace a resemblance, with the exception of one, without any ornamentation, in the Anglo-Saxon Department, British Museum. This also has the interlaced pattern, but differs from mine in its broad end resembling in shape the blade of an oar, whereas the broad end of mine gradually widens towards the top until it terminates in a width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Like the specimen referred to, it has a hole for suspension, or for securing its safety, like the pin perforating the latch of a basket-cover. I remember that I exhibited this before; but there was then so little time for it to receive due consideration, though I remember the pleasure with which Mr. Brock (who should know) spoke of it as 'a beautiful little specimen of Saxon carving'. It was dug up on the banks of the Thames, in Upper Thames Street. It bears on the back a cross, upon which are five lozenge-shaped formations, evidently intended for the five wounds of Christ. This was a common piece of symbolism. Godfrey of Bouillon bore similarly, for his arms, a cross-croset, cantoned with four crosses or, in like allusion. The 'Five Wounds' was a badge of the insurrectionists in the famous 'Pilgrimage of Grace'. It is also to be seen upon a monumental brass at Kympton, Hampshire (1522), where a small cross is engraved with the five wounds."

Mr. Marriage exhibited a cat's head of bronze, a small figure of Osiris, other Egyptian articles, and some Venetian beads.

Mr. A. G. Langdon read a paper entitled "Padstow Crosses." In the discussion which ensued, remarks were offered by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, Mr. C. H. Compton, and the Chairman.

Monumental Brasses in Norfolk.—We are glad to announce that sufficient encouragement has been rendered to Mr. E. M. Beloe, Junr., to warrant the publication of a second instalment of his interesting work. A double Part has just been published containing thirteen folio plates exact transcripts of the rubbings, some being tinted to represent brass. The work is a marvel of cheapness, the price of the Part being but 5s. We advise our members to obtain it of Mr. Beloe, King's Lynn. We hope that the work will be continued. The brasses are of great beauty and interest.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1891.

THE ACQUISITION OF LOTHIAN BY
NORTHUMBRIA.
PROBABLY A SUPPRESSED CHAPTER OF BEDE.

BY MISS RUSSELL.

(Read 18th March 1891.)

THE death of Mr. Kerslake, who was a most original and laborious investigator in certain lines of historical research, suggests the mention of one of his deductions, which, perhaps, has a more important bearing on British history than he was at first aware of. The demonstration in his *Traces of the Supremacy of Mercia in the Eighth Century*, that the existing or recorded dedications to St. Werburgh, an Abbess of the Mercian royal family, are either in Mercia proper, or else correspond with the successive conquests of Ethelbald, who reigned from 716 to 755, and was in the relation of second cousin to the lady, deals with facts as far as it goes. There are thirteen such dedications known, and half fall under each head.

St. Werburgh is so entirely Mercian that this circumstance about Ethelbald makes it easy to accept Mr. Kerslake's other observation, that of the very numerous dedications to Helena, the mother of Constantine, seven or eight in the south of England correspond to the conquests of Offa, who, like Ethelbald, reigned for nearly forty years, having succeeded him with an interval of about a year between the reigns: that is, they either

mark an advance of his boundaries, or are in places where he is known to have exercised kingly functions. Both St. Helen and St. Werburgh occur at Bath, and both near Rochester, where they are part of the evidence, if any were wanted, of Cliff at Hoo being the Cloveshoe of the Councils.

And these observations of Mr. Kerslake explain with probability why the dedications to St. Helena in Scotland, with one exception, which belongs to a group of saints having a different history, occur just outside the frontiers of Scottish Cumbria. They, of course, mark the advance of Edwin of Deira.

The foretaste of chivalry, as Mr. Kerslake calls it, implied in the Mercian King setting up his banner in the name of a female saint is very Teutonic, and St. Helena would be, inevitably, Edwin's natural patroness. Her connection with York may be a fact so far, that it is rather probable she may have been with the household of Constantine at York when he was proclaimed Emperor by the troops, and have become dowager Empress on the spot. Her dedications are valuable as historical evidence, for while they are in England somewhat local, they were not liable to be superseded like those of the Celtic saints. There are forty or more dedications to her in Yorkshire, none in Durham apparently, and only two in Northumberland. One of these latter is at Cornhill, immediately south of the Tweed. The statement that there was a chapel dedicated to her at Berwick, immediately north of the Tweed, seems to be a mistake arising out of a confusion between the town and the county.

The circumstances which suggest a lost historical fact are, that there is a church of St. Helen, now in ruins, on the Berwickshire coast, immediately to the south-east of the Pease Dean, the natural frontier between Berwickshire and the district properly called Lothian, the kingdom of Llew Loth, though the modern boundary of East Lothian is somewhat further north. A small ravine running up north-west from the Pease Dean retains the interesting name of Glen Fin,—a Welsh boundary-glen. It is still that of an estate, and is bridged by the present high-road between Berwick and Dunbar.

Another old church of St. Helen occurs at Lindean, on

the east side of the Ettrick, below Selkirk; the Catrail, which was certainly the frontier defence of Cumbria, passing along the hill on the west side.

Between these two there is a St. Helen's Well, at Darnick, about a mile west of the present Melrose; and here the Tweed, immediately to the north, forms the limit of Wedale, the district between the rivers Gala and Leader, tributaries of the larger stream, which seems to have belonged to Cumbria at one time.

Supposing, when I first observed these three occurrences of the same dedication, that it was a British or Cymric one, their position with regard to the old divisions seemed rather puzzling; and when I saw Mr. Kerslake's Mercian paper it struck me with something like certainty that Edwin's acceptance of Christianity must have been the price he paid for Lothian, where the British part of the population at least must have been Christian; that his frontiers were still outside of Lothian at the time of his baptism, and that here we have one of the suppressed chapters which Bede with his usual honesty tells us of. Herefrid, who is, doubtless, answerable for the omission, must have been an important informant, especially about Cuthbert.

Interesting as Bede's account of Edwin's conversion is, the King had evidently no religious enthusiasm whatever; and while Bede does not say who baptized him, Nennius says it was Rum, or Romeo, son of Urbgen, and nephew of Llew Loth. Nennius (that is the Abbot of Whitherne) gives his authorities for the statement. *The Saxon Chronicle* says it was Paulinus, who was, no doubt, present. I see a further trace of the supposed bargain in Edwin's adoption of the tufa-standard (the feathers of the Welsh princes, and, I have little doubt, the fleur-de-lis of France).

It was not till some time after coming to this conclusion about Edwin's conversion that I discovered, from Camden, that there was a Helen's Chapel at Condon, on the Roman Wall, in Stirlingshire, to the west of Falkirk. Pont's Map shows a Helen's Loch here, pointing to a military frontier. The dedication of this Chapel seems to me conclusive as to Edwin's having got what he bargained for, Lothian, or the territory (three modern



counties) which had apparently been acquired for the Cumbrians by Arthur's victories.

As to other marks of Edwin's occupation, "Edwins-burch" for Edinburgh *may* be a twelfth century etymology for the common Edin of Scotch names, which seems to be a variation of the Celtic *dun* and *dinas* ("Pamp Edin", at Newcastle, would be "five-forts"); but on the Tweed, Lessudden—the name of the old house of which Sir Walter Scott was a cadet—was written, till the last century, as Lessedwyn; that is, Edwin's court in Welsh, while the neighbouring Eildon Hills appear in one case as Edwin's Cliff.

It should be mentioned that the family of Ida would appear to have obtained some footing north of the present border; at least Dectotreic, King of the Picts, is supposed to be Theodoric. Whether it was Theodoric or Edwin, the first Northumbrian King who obtained possession of Berwickshire and part of Roxburghshire would naturally advance his western boundary from the Eildon Hills and the Valley of the Leader, which seem to have been the political frontier of Cumbria, to the Ettrick, which joins the Tweed five or six miles higher up, as that affords a long line of high ground facing westward.

I have no doubt that the name of Deloraine (pronounced Delōran, and meaning "Oran's Portion"), on the upper part of the Ettrick, indicates that the old Buccleuch Chapel on Rankilburn was originally one of the foundations of Oswald and Aidan, pushed up as close as possible to the Cumbrian frontier, on the same principle as Edwin's and the Mercian kings' foundations, though female saints would naturally be at a discount under the Columban rule.

West of the Ettrick, the country of Cumbria is so very strong, it is not wonderful that some sort of combination of the kings of England and Scotland was required to put an end to its independence.

The discrimination of the boundaries of Cumbria and Lothian may explain what is otherwise rather puzzling, the special interest which Robert Bruce professed in Melrose Abbey. He had been Earl of Carrick, or the southern part of Ayrshire, and personally he venerated St. Fillan,

the Perthshire saint, in whose territories his remarkable change of fortune had taken place; but his great-grandfather, the Lord of Annandale, witnesses the foundation-charter of David's Abbey of Melrose, not among the courtiers, but among "the men of that country", and he signs as "Roberto Brus Meschin". Now seeing that his charter of Annandale gives him the country up to the bounds of Radulfus Meschin, who was Sheriff of Carlisle, or Governor of William Rufus' English Cumberland, it seems probable that the title of "Meschin", which is the equivalent of knight, was attached to the office of governor of Cumbria after the death of the last nominal king in 1018. The Annandale grant must evidently have included the district east of the watershed as far as the Leader.

The family of Radulfus Meschin adopted De Meschines as a surname. The word is the Arabic *maskin*, a youth or servant. It only survives in use in the French adjective *mesquin*, *mesquine*,—somewhat unfairly; for the French female servant does not, to do her justice, wear cheap finery.

Mr. Kerslake (whom I never saw) was much interested by the deduction as to Edwin from his own observations about the Mercian kings; but he never accepted the other, mentioned in my paper on "The Name of Glasgow and the History of Cumbria" (in the *Proceedings* for 1890) from his especial work concerning Penselwood. This was, undoubtedly, partly from my having spared him the reference to Rees' *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, which seems to me conclusive as to the identity of the Dinooth Abbas of Saxon history with the Dunawd Vawr who conspired against Urien; and of St. Sawyl, or Zeal, with his brother Sawyl Penuchel, one of the "three haughty Princes of Britain". At the time that paper was written I had not fully thought out the circumstances in one way. It appears likely that the considerable popularity of St. Sawyl is owing to his representing the martyrs of Chester, as he eventually retired into Bangor Iscoed, and there is nothing to show that he had died before 617.

It is to the credit of the Welsh monkish chroniclers that Dunawd never appears as a saint. How treacherous

the assassination of the Christian champion Urien was is shown by Llywarch Hen saying, with somewhat unusual clearness for a Welsh bard,—

“It was said in the Pass of Llech,
Dunawd, the son of Pabo, will not lurk.”

That is, he was a kinsman whom Urien did not think capable of treachery. It may be added, in confirmation of what Nennius says, that the siege of Lindisfarne must have been that of the rock-castle in the island, and that the tremendous flattery addressed to him by the bards shows how great Urien's vanity must have been. See *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*.

The indications which connect Sawyl Penuchel with Penselwood, though they unfortunately throw no light on the then condition of the Pen Pits, are, as mentioned before, that two of the forms which seem to stand for Penselwood are “Pen-uchel-coit” and “Pen-sauel-coit”; “Penuchel” meaning a high hill, which, for the site of a town, the place certainly is. Also there is a Zeal's House to the east of Penselwood, on the borders of Selwood Forest.

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's lists Sawyl appears as “Samuel Penissel”; and while it is not in the least likely to be a Scriptural name at this date, the interchange between the *m* and the *digamma* is a very common Celtic one; and the name may be the same as that of the heathen Soemil who was Edwin's ancestor. I mention this because I have an idea that the unexplained name of Somerset may possibly, after all, be Soemil's Seat, and have spread from Penselwood, on the eastern border of the county. The fact of the name being pronounced as “Zeal” is sufficient evidence that the saint had some special connection with Somersetshire.

These deadly feuds among the Cymri in the north must, of course, have weakened them greatly; but the main reason, probably, why Lothian was relinquished to Edwin was that the consolidation of Cumbria by the battle of Ardderyd in 573, when Dumbarton, on the western firth, became the capital, though it probably gave it a fresh lease of several centuries of independent existence, must have loosened the hold on the eastern districts.

As to the ultimate acquisition of Lothian by the Scoto-Pictish kingdom, it was in 957, twelve years after the conquest and cession of Cumbria by Edmund Ironside, that the country about Edinburgh was given up to Scotland, probably as a matter of convenience and expediency. This probably only meant the country as far as Carberry Hill and the Esk ; while it was after the battle of Carham, in 1018, that the Scotch King succeeded in annexing the country as far as the Tweed.

NOTES.

I may mention that the one case in which St. Helena seems to appear in Scotland independently of Edwin is at a well at Maybole in Ayrshire. St. Cuthbert has here superseded St. Kenneth as the patron of the parish, for the district was held at one time by the Northumbrian kings. Ayrshire and Galloway were apparently reclaimed or conquered for Cumbria by the Regent Cyricius, or Grig, as the Picts called him, who seems to have governed the Scoto-Pictish kingdom in the interests of the Britons during the minority of Kenneth Mac Alpine's British grandson, Eocha, from 878 to 889.

As to the two royal ladies at Chester, the Church of St. Werburgh must either be a foundation by the Regula of the Mercians, or else Chester was not so entirely deserted, as is alleged, in the three centuries between Ethelfrith and Ethelfled. St. Helen might possibly be an old British dedication ; but Offa appears not far off. There is a Lwyn Offa (Offa's Wood) near Mold in Flintshire.

There is a *Caer Helen* in the Isle of the Angles, on the direct line between the Menai Straits and Holyhead ; and a *Llanedwen* on the Straits, further south. But while the latter may be, and probably is, an invocation of Edwin as a martyr-king killed by the heathen, the former name may refer to the Helen to whom the *Roman roads* are attributed in Wales. She is not St. Helen Empress (at least not Edwin's), but the wife of Maximus, and sister of Conon of Brittany. *She* gets the credit, in Welsh tradition, of withdrawing the forces of Britain, so as to leave it exposed to the Picts and Saxons, when Maximus tried for the empire of Gaul, and it is far from unlikely that she instigated the attempt. This, I believe, is the Maximus Emperor whom the kings of Cambria regarded as their ancestor, and whose descendants intermarried with our present royal family, of which Kenneth Mac Alpine is the founder on the Scotch side.

There are houses called St. Helen's at several Scotch towns ; but in the present rapid extension of suburbs, the demand for names for detached houses greatly exceeds the supply, and they are given from such very slight associations that such cases are not in themselves worth the trouble of investigation. However, Bishop Pococke in 1760 found the name of St. Elan still lingering on the rock-promontory at North Berwick. This is in the direct line of Edwin's advance. The parish is dedicated to St. Andrew, probably here direct from Hexham.

It may be mentioned that Mr. Kerslake, in his last paper, "St. Richard", speaks of the dedication to St. Andrew having spread, from some epidemic cause, from Kent; but if he had exhausted Mr. Skene's investigations (though his own are all the more valuable from being independent) he would have seen the probability that the adoption of the brother of St. Peter as a patron marks the full union with Rome. South Wales was the last part of Great Britain to adopt the Roman Easter, and the dedication of the Cathedral of St. David to St. Andrew (see Giraldus), which is, as far as I can discover, ignored in Freeman and Jones' *History*, probably marks the year 777 or soon after. (See *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii.)

The name of Channellkirk, a parish in Berwickshire, is interesting. The old form is "Childeschirche", or "Hilda's Church"; and as the dedication is to St. Leonard, it may possibly have been founded under her auspices. There is a place called Hilderston in Linlithgowshire.

It gives a certain reality to the almost lost history dealt with above to notice the histories of some of the names. The odd Christian name of Pabo, "The Pillar of Britain", is the *sobriquet* of St. Tugal of Armórica: I suppose a northern Dugall, whose name was strange to the Britons, for they always called him Pabo (Father). In the same way Urien's son, Rum, I believe to have been called after himself. I think Urbgen can only mean Rome-born, while it seems from the first to have been found an awkward and impracticable sound. Of course it was not Urien, the son of Cynmarch, but some sponsor who had been born in Rome. Rum does not appear in the pedigrees of the Men of the North. It seems likely that in earlier life he had married a Pictish princess, and that he is the Rum who appears as grandfather of Oswy's first wife, from what we know of the Pictish system.

There are now two places called Melrose on the Tweed. Old Melrose, the site of Aidan's Monastery, must always have been outside the frontiers of Cumbria; while there is a house called "The Red Abbey Stead", about half way between it and the present town of Melrose, which is some four miles higher up the river. It is exactly at the foot of the northern Eildon Hill; and I am inclined to think that, on agreeing to the homage for Cumbria, Malcolm I must, with the policy of the period, have at once built an intermediate Melrose Abbey on his new frontier. Edred of England appears looking after his boundaries in the neighbourhood.

I observe that Ethelbald of Mercia was killed at Seckington. I do not know that any of the chronicles give the details; but the place is very striking. There is a grand mote-hill, and a great trench enclosing the meeting-place below. It overlooks great part of four counties, being in the north-east corner of Staffordshire. The dedication of the church is All Saints. Mr. Kerslake remarked, when asked about this, that All Saints was a common usurper of older dedications.

PRE-COLLEGIATE OXFORD.

BY J. GILBERT, ESQ.

(Read 8th July 1890.)

To the ordinary visitor the idea of an Oxford destitute of colleges would not prove very attractive, but I have the honour of addressing an audience who know that Oxford was renowned in English story long before the statutes of Merton and University were framed. In days when immunity from oppression could only be purchased by wealth, the burgesses of this city enjoyed special liberties, equal in many respects to those of London. Time-honoured charters of privileges granted in the 1st of King John and in the 13th and 41st of Henry III rest side by side among its archives; and long before that, when power and distinction could only be achieved by downright hard fighting, Oxford was distinguished as a county town. It is under this aspect, as the chief town of a shire, that its existence is first revealed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 912: "This year died Æthered, Ealdorman of the Mercians, and King Eadward took possession of London and of Oxford, and of all the lands which owed obedience thereto."

The spelling in the Chronicle is "Oxnaforda". The etymology is to me plain and unmistakeable. It is not derivable from the river itself, or from any particular fordway, but from the general and only known means of access in border forays, when the tide of war, sweeping backwards and forwards, left Oxford stranded sometimes on the shore of Wessex, and sometimes on the shore of Mercia.

It is obvious also, if we attentively consider this passage, and the interpretation of it by twelfth century writers, that Oxford had been a place of importance for a considerable period. It must have been well known to Alfred the Great, who, when he gave his daughter Æthelflæd in marriage to Æthered, conferred upon him the sub-kingship of Mercia; and it is its restoration to the Crown, on Æthered's death, that this entry records.

That money was coined in Oxford, if not with Alfred's image thereon, at least with his superscription, is not to be controverted. The coins found at Cuerdale in 1840 attest it; and I have here wax casts of two of the plainest specimens in the British Museum, which will bear any examination-test that can fairly be applied to them.

The Mound within the precincts of Oxford Castle is with very great probability considered to be a portion of the defences constructed by the widow of Æthelred and her brother, the King Eadward. There was a similar one at Warwick, now nearly obliterated; one at Tamworth, more perfect even than our own. Stafford, Hertford, Lincoln, and other towns were fortified, and became, if they were not already, chief shire-towns. Hence we see that Oxford, as a County town, takes precedence of both the City and University.

Thanks to the skill and valour of these gallant children of Alfred, and their immediate descendants, Oxford remained comparatively tranquil and secure for the next hundred years. It is not until the reign of Ethelred II that it reappears upon the page of history. It does so then as the scene of a cruel and dastardly outrage, unparalleled in history save by the Herodian massacre and such horrors as the Sicilian Vespers and St. Bartholomew's Day. "In the year 1002 King Ethelred commanded all the Danish men who were in England to be slain." That the people of Oxford were the too willing instruments of this infamous edict is made known to us by a charter of restoration granted by Ethelred to the Monastery of St. Frideswide, as its date purports, two years after. "And this decree", it states, "was carried into effect to the very death. But whatever Danes were living in the aforesaid city (of Oxford), in attempting to save themselves from death, entering this sanctuary of Christ, breaking by force the doors and bolts, determined that what was a refuge for themselves should become a fortress against the inhabitants of the city, both those who lived within and without the wall. But when the people in pursuit of them, compelled by necessity, strove to eject them, and could not, having thrown fire upon the planks of the roof, they burnt the church, as it seems, together with the ornaments and the books." In their

fury they spared not the weaker sex, for amongst the victims was the Lady Gunhilda, sister to Sweyn, the father of Cnut ; and it was, doubtless, this murder of his sister and countrymen that instigated the Danish attack upon Oxford in the midwinter of 1009, when the town was burnt ; and four years after Oxford submitted to Sweyn himself, and gave hostages.

The year following a great national council is held at Oxford, which again figures most unfortunately in this shameless treachery of its ealdorman, Eadric Streona, who finds a defender in the late Mr. John Richard Green ; but who appears to have thoroughly deserved either of the two fates traditionally assigned to him,—one account stating that he was hanged on the highest tower in London ; another, that he was killed by the blow of an axe at a signal from Cnut.

One event in the reign of Cnut is especially interesting at the present moment,—the gift of a church to the Abbey of Abingdon. It was a church existing at the time, if we are to read the charter (which is preserved in the Chronicles of Abingdon) literally ; and there is no reason why we should not do so. It was dedicated to St. Martin, Bishop, and without doubt occupied the site of the present St. Martin's at Carfax, which has been for so many hundred years the city church, in whose yard the old Portmannimot was wont to be held. It has been assumed that this was the first of the parish churches of Oxford ; but the origin of other churches in the city—those destroyed, and some of those still existing—is so involved in obscurity that it must at least be a doubtful point.

When we consider the significance of the dedications of some of these,—to St. Budoc, Aldate, Mildred, Æbba, and Eadward (probably the martyr),—the antiquity of which, as Wood says, is “beyond all record”, I venture to think that a very good case might be made out for Oxford's participation in the missionary efforts of Birinus, whose pontificate of Dorchester commenced in 635 ; who “spread Christianity in all adjacent parts, where”, as Bede relates, “many churches were built and dedicated by him”;¹ and if so, why not one to his native, popular, and

¹ Hedges' *Wallingford*.

much revered Saint, St. Martin of Tours? It is almost inconceivable that in "the city which is [was] known by the celebrated name of Oxford", and which was under Christian rulership at least as early as A.D. 912, there should have been no parish church until 1034; and if there were earlier churches, there were also probably earlier parishes. At the demolition of this church, which will shortly take place, some further light may possibly be shed upon its true history.

I have singled out this incident, but from the time of the pacificatory Gemot held here sixteen years before, when Danes and Angles swore to observe King Edgar's laws, until the reign of Stephen, Oxford appears to have pursued a peaceful course. The coronation and death of Harold Harefoot occurred here; but the Confessor's reign was devoid of anything momentous in this neighbourhood. We have a hasty gathering under Harold the Saxon the year before the Norman invasion, to settle the differences that had arisen in Northumbria and East Anglia; but the Conquest appears to have left Oxford undisturbed, owing to the submission of its Earl, and the people generally were probably quite as well off under the Norman d'Oili as under the English Algar, Edwin, or Morkere.

It is difficult, therefore, to account for the ruinous condition of so many houses in Oxford at the time of the *Domesday Survey*, no less than 478 being "waste and destroyed" out of a total of 721. Mr. Parker supposes the town to have suffered at the hands of the unruly followers of the revolted earls in 1065,—the "riff-raff", as the word *rythrenan* may probably be modernised, who had committed such havoc at Northampton a few days previously; but *Domesday Book* shows that out of a total of 365 houses in the old and new town of Northampton (Hamptune) only 35 were "waste or unoccupied". It is only right, however, to mention that this place had been greatly enlarged by King William.

The population of Oxford at this juncture has been estimated at about 1,000 souls; the number of houses was 721. It is, moreover, designated as *civitas*,—a distinction accorded to but six other places in *Domesday Book*. We are, therefore, justified in assuming that Ox-

ford was one of the chief towns in England; and the fact that its citizens still possess their ancient "folkland" of Port Meadows shows the tenacity with which they held to their municipal liberties throughout feudal and modern times.

Shortly after the Conquest the Jews settled here in considerable numbers, and their quarter, known long after their general expulsion, in 1287, as the Great and Little Jewry, occupied a space between St. Frideswide's on the south and High Street on the north. Though they possessed no rights of citizenship in Oxford, they were not the abject race depicted in certain works of fiction. They built many houses, and stimulated enterprise by loans of money; and if they sometimes exacted inordinate interest, it was not altogether incommensurate with the risk they ran of losing both capital and interest.

The building of Beaumont Palace provided a royal residence far superior to the rough accommodation of the Castle, and the encouragement to learning given by Beauclerk, hastened forward the epoch at which this paper aims.

The city bore its full share of the troubles in Stephen's reign. The second Robert d'Oili was a firm supporter of the house of Anjou, and it is more than probable that even at the time he was entertaining Stephen and the clergy in Oxford, he was intriguing with Matilda, whose cause he openly espoused the following year. It was to Oxford Castle that Matilda fled for refuge in her flight from Gloucester, and William of Malmesbury's description of her remarkable escape from it is too well known to need recapitulation.

In the remains of Godstow we have a memorial of the most romantic episode in the life of Henry II. It was to Oxford that the Welsh princes came to do homage in 1179. Henry frequently held his court at Beaumont and Woodstock. His son Richard, afterwards the First of England, was born at Beaumont in 1157; and when he was imprisoned in Austria, this city raised a very considerable sum towards his ransom. His brother John granted Oxford the charter to which I have already referred; but it was also at Oxford that John was forced into submission to the barons, and the Great Charter of

our liberties was the result. The Provisions of Oxford, in the next reign, again curtailed the encroachments of the Crown, and Henry III's submission to them marks the close of the period to which my remarks are limited. His visit to the shrine of St. Frideswide, in 1264, is contemporaneous with the foundation of Merton College.

Such is a very rough *resumé* of the principal historical events in which pre-collegiate Oxford bore its part. When we consider its physical aspect we have not much difficulty in picturing its primitive condition,—a moderately elevated spit of land projecting southward to the confluence of the two rivers,—a veritable Mesopotamia; some rude fortification on the brow, commanding the swampy valley and passage of the river; behind this a clearing, from whence the blue smoke curled above the forest-trees; and probably signal-stations on the adjacent hills, to give timely warning of an enemy's approach. As time wore on, these defensive positions would be strengthened and developed in the "terrible and unheard-of wars", as the Chronicle describes them; so that when Edward the Elder took possession of Oxford, in the tenth century, we may readily, and with reason, suppose that Oxford had become a formidable position.

If the story of St. Frideswide be true, it had been under some kind of ecclesiastical jurisdiction for at least one hundred and fifty years, and was a walled city when the Danes took refuge in St. Frideswide's Church in 1002. The first main road was probably from east to west, which still, as a strained bow, stretches from river to river. When the causeway over Hornmere was constructed, a due south and north road would be provided, and this I should attribute to the palmy days of the great Abbey of Abingdon.

At the time that my story ceases, the city wall had been completely restored, if not rebuilt, and the strength and magnitude of the work are proved by existing remains and discoveries, in our own time, of foundations 9 ft. thick.

Permit me to conclude this very imperfect sketch with the account of its mediæval aspect by one who knew Oxford well, and whose attachment to it appears to have stimulated even his fascinating eloquence of description :

“To the west of the town rose one of the stateliest of English castles, and in the meadows beneath, the hardly less stately Abbey of Osney. Its town church of St. Martin rose from the midst of a huddled group of houses girt in with massive walls. The residence of its Earl within its Castle, and the frequent visits of English kings to a palace without the walls ; the presence, again and again, of important Parliaments, marked its political weight within the realm. Its burghers were proud of a liberty equal to that of London ; while the close and peculiar alliance of the capital promised the city a part almost equal to its own in the history of England. But in the stead of long fronts of venerable colleges, of stately walks beneath immemorial elms, history plunges us into the mean and filthy lanes of a mediæval town. Thousands of boys, in bare lodging-houses, clustered round teachers as poor as themselves in church-porch and house-porch, drinking and quarrelling, dicing and begging at the corners of the streets. The retainers who follow their young lords to the University fight out the feuds of their houses in the streets, and Mayor and Chancellor struggle in vain to enforce order or peace in this mass of seething, turbulent life.”

Such is the picture of pre-collegiate Oxford drawn for us by a master-hand.

SYLLABUB AND SYLLABUB-VESSELS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read 18 Feb. 1891.)

MANY, in our day, who repeat the old nursery rhyme,

“The Queen of Clubs made syllabubs”,

scarcely ken to what this line alludes; and both syllabub and syllabub-vessels are now so seldom heard of that it may be well to bestow a brief consideration to them ere they have entirely passed into oblivion.

A mystery hangs over both the origin of the name and time of the invention of syllabub, and even the receipts for its compound differ in no small degree. Minshew, who appears to be one of the earliest lexicographers who paid attention to the subject, regards syllabub or syllabub as a corruption of “swilling bubbles”. Henshaw and Skinner derive the title of this once favourite luxury from the Dutch *sulle* (a pipe) and *buyck* (a paunch), because it was commonly drunk through a spout out of a jug with a large belly; but it is utterly unlikely that two foreign words should be welded together to give name to a native beverage. Dr. Johnson says the name is “probably derived from *esil*, in old English, vinegar: *esil a boue*, vinegar for the mouth, vinegar made pleasant”, and defines the mixture as “curds made by milking upon vinegar.”¹

The syllabub of olden times was something more complicated, richer, and palatable than Johnson’s sour curds, as may be seen by reference to Hannah Woolley’s *Queen-like Closet stored with Rare Receipts* (ed. 1684, p. 89). This is her direction: “To make very fine sillibub.—Take one quart of cream, one pint and an half of wine or sack, the juice of two limons with some of the pill, and a branch of rosemary; sweeten it very well, then put a little of this liquor and a little of the cream into a bason,

¹ In Lancashire and Lincolnshire the syllabub is called “sillibauk” and “sillybauk”.

beat them till it froth, put that froth into the *sillibub-pot*; and so do till the cream and wine be done, then cover it close, and set it in a cool cellar for twelve hours, then eat it."

Sir John Hill, under his *nom de plume* of Mrs. Glasse, gives three receipts for making syllabubs in *The Art of Cookery* (ed. 1760, pp. 284, 288), severally headed, "To Make Whipt Syllabubs", "To Make Everlasting Syllabubs", and "To Make a fine Syllabub from the Cow." They are all very tempting, and the first two very elaborate, and Sir John tells how colour may be given to them. In Mrs. Rundle's *Domestic Cookery* (ed. 1813, p. 201) there are directions for making "London Syllabub", "Staffordshire Syllabub", "Somersetshire Syllabub", and "Everlasting or Solid Syllabubs", which indicate that some counties had a particular mode of producing the delicious compound.¹

Poets have not disdained to make mention of syllabubs in their verses. Thus Beaumont says :

"No syllabubs made at the milking-pail,
But what are compos'd of a pot of good ale."

Wotton tells us

"Joan takes her neat, rubb'd pail and now
She trips to milk the sand-red cow ;
Where, for some sturdy, football-swain
Joan strokes a sillabub or twain."

Dr. King, in his *Art of Cookery* (1740), speaks of

"A feast
By some rich farmer's wife and sister drest,
Might be resembled to a sick man's dream,
Where all ideas huddling run so fast,
That sillabubs come first, and soups the last."

The foregoing verses would almost indicate that the syllabub was simply a rural delicacy ; but there is evidence that as early as the seventeenth century it was not confined to rustic society, for about the year 1677 Wycherley speaks of taking a syllabub at the New Spring Gardens, or Vauxhall as they were also called.²

¹ Devonshire junket may be regarded as first-cousin to the syllabub. It is as old as the sixteenth century.

² See account of Vauxhall in Cassell's *Old and New London*.

We must now pass on to the vessels in which syllabub was served. We have already seen that Hannah Woolley makes mention of "the sillibub-pot", and we gather from Henshaw and Skinner that the delectable beverage was usually drunk out of a full-bodied pot, through the spout; and in *The Mirror* (vol. xiii, p. 296) is given a woodcut of a vessel out of which John Bunyan, the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, is affirmed to have quaffed his syllabub during his imprisonment in Bedford County Gaol. It may be described as a robust, two-handled jar with a dome-shaped cover surmounted by a knob, and having a long, curved spout, like that of a teapot, springing from the lower part. It is $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, and will contain three pints and a half, and is made of common earthenware with a light, flesh-tinted glaze. I have seen a few examples of syllabub-vessels of the Bunyan type, which may be distinguished from teapots by their double handles, large covers, and low origin of the spout.

But there were other modes of imbibing syllabub than through a spout. Some time since a scrap of newspaper came into my hands, of which the following is a copy:—"Syllabub (old style). Put into a large china punch-bowl a bottle of sherry, half a bottle of brandy, some loaf-sugar, and a nutmeg grated. Give the bowl thus charged to a careful dairymaid, and let her milk into it till nearly full, from a cow yielding good, rich milk; then set aside, covering the bowl with a cloth; and after it has stood about half an hour or more, place it on the table, and fill the glasses with a silver punch-ladle."

I know not the date of these directions, but it is certain that during last century it was a common practice to bring the syllabub to table in the ample bowl in which it was prepared, and from which glasses were filled by means of a silver punch-ladle. Sir John Hill, *alias* Mrs. Glasse, distinctly mentions the glasses in the receipts both of whipt and everlasting syllabubs, but does not indicate their form nor character. As there were special glasses provided for custards and jellies, it is fair to infer that there were others designed for syllabubs; and I will now call attention to an old family relic which has, time out of mind, borne the title of "a syllabub or whip glass"; and which titles were affirmed to be correct by a very

aged man, long since dead, whose memory reached far back into the reign of George III, and who said the vessel in question belonged to the first half of last century. Its form is remindful of the *modius* seen on the head of Jupiter Serapis. It is $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. in height, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter at the mouth, and about $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. at the rather thick base, and holds exactly a quarter of a pint of fluid. The inside of the lip is strengthened by a rather broad hem. It is well made, but the metal is somewhat bubbly, like much of that of the seventeenth century. Glasses of this shape are rarely met with, and those who possess any should cherish them as choice mementos of an obsolete fashion.

We glean from the foregoing notes that syllabub must have been well and widely known before the dawn of the seventeenth century, for by that time the origin of its name was obscured by doubt and mystery. Further, that there was a considerable variation in its preparation; and finally that it was served up in spouted pots, bowls, and glasses. That it was once a fashionable fare is beyond question, and why it should have fallen into disuse seems as unaccountable as the origin of its name. The high esteem in which it was once held is indicated by the following *jeu d'esprit*, entitled

“WHIPT SYLLABUB.

“When syllabub, like mount of snow,
 With custard, jelly, tart,
 And tipsy-cake, and trifle sweet,
 Of banquet made a part.
 O! syllabub was our delight,
 Enriched with spice and sack:
 Ah! then we loved to taste the whip
 In mouth, not on the back.
 What hubbub did the children raise
 At sight of syllabub!
 Their mouths did water for its foam.
 With glee they palms did rub.
 The silly folk hath now forgot
 How syllabub was made,
 And fancy that to Scilly Isles
 Afresh must seek for aid.
 O! sure their brains must addled be
 By craft of Belzebub,
 Whose cruel spite would them deprive
 Of joy of syllabub.”

MURRA :

ITS REPRODUCTION AND ORIGINAL.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V P., F.S.A. SCOT.,
F.R.S.A.I., ETC.

(Read 15 April 1891.)

“MURRA (sometimes written ‘murrhine’), a stone of divers colours, of which they make cups.” What *was* it? a natural production or artificial? What *is* it? Are there any survivals, whole or in parts? The question has had long debate, and to this day is supposedly unresolved; and although no positive fact may be given, an advance in the right direction will reward “guesses at truth”.

The inquiry has been revived by the reception of certain very curious and beautiful fragments of ancient glass disinterred in Caprea, together with a few exquisite reproductions of imitative murrhine copied from relics in the cabinets of Rome and Naples. They cannot fail to interest. Pliny writes, “murrhine or murra is brought by certain merchants to Rome, in natural lumps, from the East and Caramaria in Asia Minor”; that this natural product contained “layers of colour, or bands of deposit, with crystals and gems of gold. The natural substance is of no great thickness”, but with a beauty found in its winding lines, spots, and purple shades. Purple colour, white, and a third “*rubescence lacteo*” (a ruddy glow) through a milky white, answering to an ancient artificial opal, wherein the almost ruddy ruby or sard shines through a milky white medium. The words are, “*ex utroque ignescente veluti per transitum coloris purpura aut rubescente lacteo.*” Pliny writes further, his murrhine possesses a beautiful and admired play of colours.

Now some great English naturalists have endeavoured to resolve all this into felspar containing hornstone layers. This substance, however, possesses neither colour nor iridescence. A lump of stone or spar, recovered in the foundations of a house in Rome, appears to have formed an example of true murra. It fell into the hands of a

dealer in antiquities, and was bought by the Jesuit Fathers for the Church of Jesu in Rome. Having been cut into thin plates, it adorns the altar of the church, answering more or less to Pliny's description,—purple with white streaks.

Pliny, writing of the luxurious use of glass in his day, tells us of murrhine imitated by the artist craftsmen of Rome, and in variety of colours, particularly noticing the banded layers of colour in this reproduction, and oriental alabaster also. There is little doubt these banded specimens of glass from Caprea are ancient reproductions of the ancient murrhine; differing in colour, I grant, as referred to the stone or spar in purple and white, but agreeing with Pliny's "various colours". One fragment, a portion of a *cyathus*, cannot be other than a true imitation of the murra. It is purple (Pliny's colour) with white winding stripes. We may trust it as a true exponent of Pliny's favourite.

We may recall the stained crystal and agates of China, crystal and agates still, illustrative of the conditions and colours of imitative murra in Pliny's day; derived, perhaps, in inception from the East. The era of its introduction to Rome is marked by the triumph of Pompey, who dedicated cups and vases he had brought from the East to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This set the fashion to luxury. Small dishes were found, with cups and bowls, on Roman tables, for one of which 70,000 sesterces had not been deemed too great a price. It was a simple cup which held no more than three *sextarii*.

We may say in truth, glass, as *we do not* understand it, was well known to the Romans. Who can examine the better class of Roman pastes without acknowledgment that in beauty of execution, colour, and fire, the imitator pretty well rivalled the sculptor and the original stone? They had methods of selection, apportionments, mixings, and application of metallic oxides, for the production of artificial gems and variegated glass, with which our best efforts are out of touch. Inlaid and cameo-glass,—why, the supposed sole survivors of the rare art are a world's wonder still!

All this was not the birth of a day or an age,—the cumulative experience of many a generation wrapped

in a flower that blossomed out in beauty and renown. Whence its beginning? We think it referable to that miraculous people, the guild-workers of Egypt, and especially of Diospolis, the central city of the art of glass-work. Here, undoubtedly, amongst other achievements, the arts of variegated and gemmed glass were perfected. This very rare green jasper alabastron, laced with silver, attests it. The foundation of this work is pure purple glass. United on and with this are green and cobalt folds bound with silvery bands; doubtless imitative of murra, of highest artistic conception.

If the art of glass-making, as it probably did, passed from Egypt to Greece, and in after centuries from Italy to Germany, clearly the art ornamental gave place to art useful, albeit the useful was still the ornamental and the beautiful. Possibly the Roman occupation may have been the period of recovery of the secrets of a dying art, and the advancement to a superexcellence. The Roman was absorbent. In his transparent crystal glass we perceive the retention and adaptation of the lovely outlines of Grecian work. In the murrhina, the retention and expansion of Egyptian experience, the experience of ages, who may gainsay? This experience, in a certain sense only, descended through the Roman to early Venetian workers, when purity and beauty were mingled with the grotesque. It is hardly possible to name peculiarities of Venice art without referring *vitro di trino*, *vitro di fumo*, *vitro d'auro*, and other achievements, as reproductions of the beginning of Roman genius and taste, and in one rare and most beautiful example particularly so. The writer has in his collection but one example, a flower-vase, in which, on a grey ground, are bands of white, purple, beryl, green, and rose-colour. The resurrection of this genius and rehabilitation of this taste had been reserved for our day. This by Italian hands, although it is much to be feared it is but the burst of the lamp-flame before final extinction. Most of the workers who dared the revivification, and successfully, of the brilliant and beautiful of a past age, are dead. Castellani is dead. The art has not descended from father to son. No more close and closely studied imitations of the ancient will be attempted, and we, and possibly those who come after

us, must be content with existing specimens, which, however, carried off the palm of merit from the great French Exhibition.

I crave permission for these remarks and exhibition of the specimens of revival of a glorious art, partly on account of the individual interest of the specimens, partly because in one of our museums some such mingles, and most worthily, with its collection of ancient glass.

First, then, I would say, the choicest fragments, specimens of this old world work, are preserved in the Vatican Library. There you may find the precious, aristocratic murra side by side with that of more daily common use, the esteemed "white", "transparent", which in Nero's day abounded in Roman homes; Christian glass, also Christian forms and symbols in gold on beryl glass; cracked, broken too often, but not too much so as to prevent an accuracy of measurement for reproduction, or occasional frustration of study by its minuteness. It is, then, from these beautiful fragments the *scyphi* on the table have been, by vast labour of brain and hand, and no small expenditure of time and money, recalled to being. The percentage of failures or successes must also be reckoned with. Of such results in ancient glass-houses we know nothing; in modern the loss has proved very great; but an examination suffices to show no slurred work is here. Nothing appears in these works but a courageous effort to rival or outrival the old triumphs, and in some cases successfully. The many difficulties for securing success must have enhanced the preciousness of the issue, not the rarity alone. And these words apply to the old world workers, unless, indeed, they were possessed of an untransmitted secret of success. We may well suppose a limitation of use to imperial palaces and mansions of luxurious Romans, rivalling (whose tables excelled in service) the pomp of the Cæsars. Such limitation may in part account for the beauty of finish so perceptible in this fine glass. All beyond we would ascribe to the devotion of the artist.

Commoner or finer glass formed export to Roman settlements. One small fragment was disinterred in London, on Ludgate Hill, and vainly for more did the narrator, like a grieved spirit, haunt that excavation.

Examining this, you find it caned in colours, but on a dark yet brilliant green. The colouring how varied, how vivid ! Metallic oxides, as now, were used to give the transparent glass its varied hues ; but some are unknown to us, as one mordant, well known to moderns, was unknown to the ancient artist, the ruby. The only attempts at a ruby stain eventuated in a streaky line of palest blush, a rose-colour, possibly due to an infusion of iron oxide. Otherwise, would not the murrhine bowls now exhibited have been gemmed with rubies as this is with crystals and gold ?

There are before you closely imitative reproductions of the murrhine, and of highest merit :—

1. A small *discus* or *patena*, 4 in. diameter. A centre of greyish character, but by transmitted light disclosing a threaded jacinth edging, and inlaid leafage of jacinth also. It is a lovely and now unique specimen.

2. A somewhat similar shape and size, but of entirely diverse treatment, transmitted light disclosing a lovely rose basis on which rest leaves and flowers of green.

3. A *scyphus*. Diameter, 7 in. Threaded edge. Entirely covered by varied patterns in shades of green and purple, interspersed with inlaid crystals, gold, and agate scrolls. No doubt oxides of copper were largely used as the basis for tinting, and the modern artist or artists are to be largely commended for truth and fidelity, inasmuch as ruby not appearing in the artist's work, is omitted also in the modern, although its presence would have added to the grandeur and complete perfection of the work.

4. An extraordinary art-work, opaque, heavy, and highly finished in hue, imitative of madrapore threads of glass, passing right through, representing the fossil corals. This piece is a triumph of art.

- 5 is unpolished, and presents an uninteresting, dull brown, yet by transmitted light revealing a body of vivid jacinth or topaz, in which are inserted, right through, scrolls of onyx. Castellani had an antique vase of this glass.

6. A deep bowl of apparent green, which by transmitted light changes to deep sapphire, inlaid within with leaves, and superficially with orange and yellow flowers springing from centres. The edge of this beautiful bowl

is threaded. It is almost impossible to withhold belief that this lovely art-work is of Oriental design, perhaps Persian, but adapted and improved by the Roman artist. Amongst the fragments from Capri is one resembling this bowl. It is part of an upright drinking-glass; green, with threaded edge; but by transmitted light a leaf is discovered in the glass, which is also studded with amethyst or murra.

7 is a copy of unusual interest, and marks possibly the reign of Nero for the time of its manufacture, transparent glass being then used and most valued. Pliny says murra shone in colours, and glittered in gems. Here is a wine-bowl answering his descriptive outlines,—transparent, and bright in mingled colours and design. The bowl has a threaded edge; the body is transparent; a broad cross of pale yellow divides it into four portions decorated with purple, white, and yellow lines, triangles, and stars, inlaid. A smaller dish exhibits the *layers* of the true murra in straight stripes, the body being the whitish grey of murrhina; the stripes, vivid greens and blues. A piece similar was in the Capri fragments also.

What must have been the effect of *scyphi* when filled to the brim with deep red or amber wines? How must the old art have added to the beauty of the luxurious table, and zest to the banquet! But, art, beauty, use, belonged more to the past than present. Modern charges could not have been more prohibitive than the ancient. Perhaps the quick ancient perception of beauty may mark less the modern character; less, too, the Turner-esque ability to snatch and fix the shades of beautiful combinations; perhaps unwillingness of sacrifice needful to attain the beautiful.

The more enlightened amongst us can admire, and do investigate and compare with keen appreciation, and so we will be thankful that the few lovely, scarce, and true reproductions of survivals of ages should find a home in the cabinets of Madrid, of London, and hands of some appreciative collectors, and on the record of the British Archæological Association.

“Ardenti murra Falerno convenit.”
(*Martial.*)

NOTES ON THE ABBEY CHURCH OF DORCHESTER.

BY REV. N. C. S. POYNTZ, VICAR OF DORCHESTER.

THE present structure may be regarded as having been built at seven different periods. Remigius, Bishop of Dorchester, had removed the episcopal see to Lincoln in or about the year 1086. Alexander, the third Bishop of Lincoln, founded at Dorchester a Monastery of Black Canons, 1140, and their church, which formed a part of the present Abbey Church, was either the cathedral church built by Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester, 1034-49, or was commenced by them.

The first building consisted of nave, apsidal chancel, and north and south transepts, all of which were lighted by narrow lancet-windows above the stringcourse. This perfectly cruciform and symmetrical plan was by degrees altered and added to by the monks in the following ways.

1. They took down the side-walls of the transepts, and extended the transepts north and south to about double their original depth. At the same time, probably, they pierced the north and south chancel-walls, and produced the lofty circular arches as they are now seen.

2. They pulled down the apsidal termination of the chancel, and extended their work eastwards, raising first, about 1330, the Early English colonnade and aisle on the north side of the present chancel.

3. A little later, about 1360, they continued the work by building the Decorated colonnade and aisle on the south side of the present chancel. At this time, which may be considered the second great period of the present building, the church ended at the east where the sanctuary rails now stand; and here was then the high altar, as is evidenced by the fine piscina in the south wall.

4. At a little later date they blocked up the west window of the south chancel-aisle, pierced the south wall of the nave, and added the present south nave-aisle as a church for the people. Under the altar, in this part of

the church, is a small decorated crypt, now without access. Above the altar is the original fresco of the Crucifixion, which had for many years been covered with whitewash, but was successfully restored by Messrs. Clayton and Bell in 1862-3. Above the fresco, in the recess formed by the blocked-up window of the south chancel-aisle, is still clearly seen, painted on the wall, a large red cross, probably a part of the people's rood.

5. At a later date, probably about 1400, they pulled down the east wall of the chancel, and added the present sanctuary, in which still exist the very fine and elaborately decorated east window, the remarkable Jesse window on the north, and a fine window verging toward Perpendicular work on the south, in which is represented, in stone, a procession with the bishop. Beneath this south window are the exquisitely carved sedilia and piscina, a remarkable feature in which are the small trefoil windows filled in with twelfth century glass, representing St. Birinus engaged in celebrating a pontifical Mass. The canopies of these sedilia are elaborately worked, and by their varying richness denote the degrees of the sacred ministers who occupy them. The centre canopy, the most elaborate, is over the officiating priest; the western canopy, less elaborate, is over the deacon; the eastern canopy, less elaborate still, is over the sub-deacon. The date of the whole is probably about 1350.

6. The porch is of Tudor work.

7. The tower, to the west of the nave, was to a great extent restored, if not rebuilt, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

There are evident traces, at the east end of the church, of the intention of the monks to groin that part of the building, and this may account for the heavy shaft (externally a very substantial buttress) which runs up the centre of the east window.

In the floor of the chancel there still remains, in an almost perfect condition, the tombstone and brass of Sir Richard Beauforest, one of the last of the abbots, who put up the present carved choir-stalls, and whose relation, a layman, at the time of the suppression of the monasteries, bought the whole of the east end of the church for £140, and gave it by will to the parish.

In the south chancel-aisle are some stone monuments, among which is that of Æschwyne, who was Bishop of Dorchester, 979-1002. Here is also preserved, under a wire-cage, some fine canopy-work, which was found built into a doorway on the north side of the nave, and which is believed to have formed part of the canopy of a shrine which was erected here to the memory of St. Birinus about 1342.

The font in the people's church is a very fine specimen of lead work, and is believed to be of the twelfth century.

Westward of the tower stands the only remaining portion of the old Monastery, probably the guest-house. It was converted into a boys' school in 1653, and is still used for the same purpose. It has undergone several alterations; but there still remain portions of the old architectural features sufficient to determine its original character.

On the north side of the church there exists, externally, a fine specimen of a Transitional doorway, which gave entrance to the north transept from the cloisters.

The only part of the old pre-Reformation church which is still unrestored is a chantry chapel on the north side of the north chancel-aisle; and unless some munificent donors are found to aid in defraying the cost, it is feared that this work will never be accomplished. The architect's plans for the restoration hang in the church, and the cost would be £1,500 to £1,700.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE
OF THE
EARLY CHRISTIAN SCULPTURED STONES OF
THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

(*Localities arranged alphabetically.*)

BY J. RONILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

(*Continued from p. 171.*)

LEDSSHAM, ten miles east of Leeds, and two miles from South Milford Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 87, N.W.

(No. 1.)—Broken cross-shaft built into the wall of the north aisle of the church, inside, the dimensions of which I have not yet obtained. Sculptured on the exposed face thus :

Front.—A pair of birds bending over, with their necks crossing, and pecking at the fruit hanging down from the branches of interlaced foliage, springing from two undulating stems.

(No. 2.)—Broken cross-shaft built into the wall of the north aisle of the church, inside, the dimensions of which I have not yet obtained. Sculptured on the exposed face thus :

Front.—Scrolls of foliage springing from interlaced, undulating stems.

(No. 3.)—The imposts and arch-mouldings of the doorway of the church tower ornamented with scrolls of foliage and interlaced work, derived from five-cord plaits by making breaks at regular intervals.¹

(No. 4.)—Broken cross-shaft built into the wall over the porch, outside, the dimensions of which I have not yet obtained ; sculptured on the exposed face thus :

Front.—Scrolls of foliage springing from an undulating stem.

• • •

¹ These stones have been described and illustrated in the Rev. Canon G. F. Browne's *Disney Lectures on Archaeology* at Cambridge.

LEEDS.—

(No. 1.)—Complete cross-shaft, the broken pieces of which were found in pulling down the old Parish Church in 1838, and after having been transported to several places by Mr. R. D. Chantrell, the architect, have now been put together and re-erected within the church. 8 ft. 3 in. high, 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. at bottom, and 1 ft. 1 in. by 10 in. at top. Sculptured on four faces thus :

Front.—Divided into three panels containing—(1), a saint with nimbus round the head, the middle portion of the body being defaced ; (2), a saint holding a book in the right hand, partly defaced ; (3), an incident believed to be taken from the story of Völund and the Swan Maiden, the representation showing a woman placed horizontally, facing upwards, with a human hand grasping her from below by her back hair and the train of her dress. At the lower right hand corner of the panel are one leg of a man, a hammer, a pair of pincers, and two other objects. The rest is defaced.

Back.—Divided into four panels containing—(1), interlaced work composed of two concentric, circular rings, and four sets of bands which bifurcate ; one portion of the bifurcation in each case passing through the centre of the rings, and the other bending over so as to cross over both the rings in two places, and terminating in a loose end. The whole has the general appearance of the circular knots found on the crosses of Ireland and Scotland, but the bifurcating bands and loose ends are like the tendril-pattern which occurs so frequently on the Manx crosses. (2), a composite creature having a human head and body, but with a beast's or bird's claws instead of hands. (3), interlaced work composed of four spiral knots, the bands of which make a double twist round the centre, arranged in two rows ; those in the right hand row being alternately right-handed knots facing upwards, and left-handed knots facing downwards ; and those in the left-hand row, alternately left-handed knots facing upwards, and right-handed knots facing downwards. The overlappings and underlappings of the bands are irregular ; in some cases a band passing over two others instead of over and under alternately. (4), a man holding a drawn sword in the right hand, and having a hawk perched on his left shoulder.

Right side.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), in the upper half, scrolls of foliage; and in the lower half, interlaced work composed of two looped bands combined with the loops, facing in opposite directions, and terminating in Stafford knots; (2), interlaced work composed of two twisted bands looped at each turn of the bands.¹

(No. 2.)—Fragment found during rebuilding of church in 1837, 11½ in. long by 10 in. wide;² inscribed on one face thus:

Front.—Portion of two lines of an inscription in Anglian Runes, reading

CUNU[NG] King
ONLAF Onlaf

* * *

METHLEY, seven miles south-west of Leeds, and a quarter of a mile from Methley Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 87, N.W. Description not yet obtained.

* * *

MIDDLEMOOR, sixteen miles west of Ripon, and six miles from Pateley Bridge Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 97, S.E.

Broken cross-head, the description of which I have not yet obtained. The only drawing of it I have seen was made by the Rev. J. Simpson of Bexhill, and is in the collection of Sir Henry Dryden.

* * *

OTLEY, ten miles north-west of Leeds, and half a mile north of Otley Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 92, S.E.

(No. 1.)—Broken cross-shaft found with all the others during the restoration, and now preserved within the church, 3 ft. 3 in. long by 1 ft. 8 in., with a double bead-

¹ This stone is described and illustrated in a paper by the Rev. G. F. Browne in the *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xli, p. 131, and in Major R. W. Moore's *History of the Parish Church of Leeds*, p. 57.

² This stone is described and illustrated in Prof. G. Stephens' *Hand-book of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 155, and in the Rev. Dr. Daniel Haigh's paper on the "Yorkshire Runic Monuments" in the *Yorkshire Arch. Journ.*, vol. ii, p. 54.

moulding on the four angles, and sculptured on four faces thus :

Front.—Divided into three panels containing—(1), defaced sculpture ; (2), a winged dragon holding a bunch of fruit in its mouth ; (3), the head of a saint with the nimbus round the head, and foliage at the side.

Back.—Divided into three panels containing—(1), defaced sculpture ; (2), a winged dragon with foliated tail.

Right side.—A single panel containing two dragons with their tails interlaced so as to form a figure-of-eight knot.

Left side.—A single panel containing interlaced work derived from plaitwork by making breaks so as to leave loops on opposite sides, and terminating in a Stafford knot.

(No. 2.)—Broken cross-shaft, 2 ft. 6 in. long by 1 ft. wide, with a double bead-moulding on four angles, and sculptured on two faces thus :

Front.—Divided by horizontal bands, with bead-mouldings on the two edges, into three panels, each containing a saint or ecclesiastic holding a book (but without the nimbus round the head) beneath a semicircular arch springing from columns with stepped capitals, and having a leaf in each of the spandrils above.

Back.—A single panel containing scrolls of foliage with birds in the branches.

(No. 3.)—Broken cross-shaft, 1 ft. long by 10 in. wide, by 5½ in. thick, sculptured on four faces thus :

Front.—A single panel containing irregular interlaced work with rings.

Back.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), part of a dragon ; (2), irregular interlaced work with figure-of-eight knot.

Right side.—Regular four-cord plaitwork with breaks and spaces.

Left side.—Scrolls of foliage.

(No. 4.)—Broken cross-shaft, 2 ft. long by 11 in. wide, by 6 in. thick, sculptured on four sides with very irregular interlaced work.

(No. 5.)—Fragment, 10 in. long by 7½ in. wide, by 2½ in. thick, sculptured on four faces thus :

Front.—Man holding sword in the right hand.

Back.—(?)

Right side.—Scroll foliage.

Left side.—Interlaced work.

There are one or two other sculptured stones at Otley, of which I have not yet obtained particulars.

• • •

RASTRICK, four miles south-east of Halifax, and one mile south of Brighouse Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 88, N.E.

Cross-base standing *in situ* in churchyard, at the north-west corner, 3 ft. high, 2 ft. 4 in. square at the bottom, and 2 ft. square at the top. Sculptured on four faces thus :

Front.—Divided into two panels by a vertical band in the centre, containing—(1), on the left, interlaced work consisting of a twist combined with pairs of oval rings placed crosswise at regular intervals ; and (2), a twist combined with a chain of oval rings.

Back.—A single panel containing scrolls of foliage springing from a straight, vertical stem in the centre.

Right side.—A single panel containing scrolls of foliage springing from a straight, vertical stem in the centre, and an undulating stem on each side.

Left side.—Defaced.¹

• • •

RIPON.—Ordnance Map, Sheet 96, s.w.

(No. 1.)—Broken cross, now preserved in the York Museum, 1 ft. 1 in. long, by 5½ in. by 4½ in., with no ornamental sculpture, but inscribed on one face thus :

Front.—On head, a cross with circular terminations to the arms. On shaft, an inscription in Saxon capitals, in three horizontal lines, which reads as follows :²

| | |
|-------|-----------|
| + ADH | Adhuse |
| VZE | Presbyter |
| PRB | |

(No. 2.)—Cross-shaft³ built into buttress on the west

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. R. G. Irving, the Incumbent of Rastrick, for having kindly supplied me with rubbings of this stone.

² This stone is described in Æ. Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*, No. 178.

³ The Rev. Canon G. F. Browne suggests that stones Nos. 3 and 4 are not cross-shafts, but the imposts of a doorway, and may have been taken from the principal entrance to Wilfrid's Saxon cathedral.

side of the north transept of the Cathedral, outside ; sculptured on the exposed face thus :

Front.—A single panel containing interlaced work derived from a twelve-cord plait by making breaks at regular intervals, so as to form a looped border along each edge.

(No. 3.)—Cross-shaft built into the same buttress of the north transept of the Cathedral, outside ; sculptured on two faces thus :

Front.—A single panel of interlaced work composed of spiral knots C with double twist, all left-handed, and facing in the same direction, except the one at the end, and arranged in one row.

Side.—A single panel of interlaced work, composed of knot D, in two rows facing towards each other.

* * *

ROTHWELL, four miles west of Leeds, and two miles west of Woodlesford Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 87, N.W.

(No. 1.)—Frieze of sculpture, intended probably for some architectural purpose, built into the interior wall of the church ; 2 ft. 4 in. long by 8 in. wide ; sculptured on one side thus :

Front.—Divided into an arcade of four arches enclosing—(1), scrolls of foliage ; (2), a beast with interlaced tail ; (3), scrolls of foliage ; (4), six-cord, double-beaded plaitwork.

(No. 2.)—A frieze similar to No. 1, also built into the interior wall of the church, 2 ft. 10 in. long by 8 in. wide ; sculptured on one face thus :

Front.—Divided into an arcade of four arches enclosing—(1), a beast ; (2), a beast ; (3), a bird with its tail in its beak ; (4), a winged beast.¹

* * *

SHEFFIELD.—Ordnance Map, Sheet 82, N.W.

Broken cross-shaft lying in a private garden, the dimensions of which I have not yet obtained ; sculptured on four (?) faces thus :

¹ Casts of these stones were presented to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society by Mr. John Batty. (*Weekly Yorkshire Post*, Sept. 20, 1884.)

Front.—Scroll-foliage with an archer kneeling at the bottom.

Back.— (?)

Right side.— (?)

Left side.—Two distinct patterns, but not in separate panels—(1), scroll-foliage; (2), interlaced work composed of knot D in two rows placed facing each other.¹

* * *

THORNHILL, ten miles south of Leeds, and a mile and a half south-east of Thornhill Railway Station. Ordnance Map, Sheet 88, N.E.

(No. 1.)—Cross-shaft, of sandstone, found in 1882 built into the interior wall of the bell-chamber of the tower of the church, and now preserved, with all the others, within the building; 1 ft. 9 in. long, 1 ft. 1 in. wide, by 7½ in. thick. Sculptured on four faces thus:

Front.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), interlaced work composed of Stafford knots arranged in two rows, facing alternately upwards and downwards, and interwoven with two additional bands; (2), inscription in Anglian Runes, in four horizontal lines, to the following effect:

IGILSUIP ARÆRDE ÆFTER
BERHTSUIP BECUN
AT BERGI GIBBIDAþ
þÆR FAULE

"Igils with raised to the memory of Bers with [this] monument at the mound. Pray for the soul."

Back.—A single panel containing interlaced work composed of a double row of spiral knots all facing upwards, those in the right hand row being right-handed, and those in the left hand row left-handed.

Right and left sides.—A single panel containing interlaced work, consisting of a four-cord plait combined with two rows of figure-of-eight rings.²

(No. 2.)—Cross-shaft of sandstone found during restor-

¹ There is a cast of this stone in the Sheffield Museum, and it has been described and illustrated in the Rev. Canon G. F. Browne's *Disney Lectures on Archaeology* at Cambridge.

² This stone is described and illustrated in the *Yorkshire Archæol. and Topog. Journ.*, vol. viii, p. 49, and in Prof. G. Stephens' *Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 248.

ation, now preserved in the church, 1 ft. 9 in. long by 8 in. wide, by 4 in. thick. Sculptured on four faces thus :

Front.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), a pair of serpentine creatures with bodies forming three-cord plaits, placed symmetrically, facing outwards, on each side of a central tree ; (2), an inscription in Anglian Runes, in four horizontal lines, to be read :

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| + EADRED | + Eadred |
| SETE ÆFTE | Set [this up] to the memory of |
| EATE YANNE | Eata, a hermit. ¹ |

Back.—Two plain panels formed by double incised line.

Right side.—Incised lines forming a border along each edge.

Left side.—Two plain panels formed by a double incised line.²

(No. 3.)—Cross-shaft of sandstone, found with others during restoration, and preserved within the church, 1 ft. 8 in. long by 9 in. wide, by 5½ in. thick ; sculptured on four faces thus :

Front.—Divided into two panels containing—(1), scroll-foliage ; (2), much obliterated inscription in Anglian Runes, in three horizontal lines, to be read :

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| + EPELBE | + Ethelberht |
| ECHT SETT ÆFTE- | Set up this after |
| R EPELWINI DREING | Ethelwini Dreing." |

Back.—A single plain panel formed by a double incised line.

Right and left sides.—A plain panel formed by a single incised line.³

(Nos. 4 and 5.)—Two fragments of a cross-shaft, one, 7 in. long by 6 in. wide, by 2½ in. thick, and the other, 10½ in. long by 6½ in. wide, by 2½ in. thick, inscribed on one face only, thus :

Front.—A fragmentary inscription in Saxon capitals, in horizontal lines, to be read :⁴

¹ Or, according to Prof. Stephens, "after the lady Eateya."

² This stone is described and illustrated in the *Yorkshire Archæol. and Topog. Journ.*, vol. iv, p. 428, and in Prof. G. Stephens' *Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 149.

³ This stone is described and illustrated in the *Yorkshire Archæol. and Topog. Journ.*, vol. iv, p. 427, and in Prof. Stephens' *Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 148.

⁴ This stone is described and illustrated in the *Yorkshire Archæol.*

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| ... EAEFT | ... raised this |
| ... OSBER | after Osbercht |
| ... BEC | the beacon ... |
| ... BER | |

(No. 6.)—Cross shaft of sandstone, found with the others, 1 ft. 1 in. long, by 1 ft. wide, by 11 in. thick; sculptured on four faces thus:

Front.—A single panel containing foliage, consisting of a central stem with branches arranged symmetrically on each side, and interlaced with scrolls forming spiral knots.

Back.—Eleven incised lines.

Right side.—Key-pattern and foliage.

Left side.—Defaced.¹

(No. 7.)—Broken cross-shaft of sandstone, found with the others; 11 in. long by 7½ in. wide, by 5 in. thick; sculptured on two faces thus:

Front.—A single panel containing a six-cord plait with breaks along the edges at regular intervals.

Back and right side.—Defaced.

Left side.—Three incised lines.

(No. 8.)—Broken cross of sandstone, found with the others, 10 in. long, by 6 in. wide, by 4 in. thick; sculptured on four faces thus:

Front.—A single panel containing interlaced-work of the broken plaitwork type, composed of a twist combined with pairs of oval rings placed diagonally.

Back.—A single panel containing two separate pieces of interlaced work,—(1), on the head, the same as that on the front; (2), on the shaft a four-cord plait.

Right side.—Irregular interlaced-work.

Left side.—A single panel containing a plait of four bands.

(No. 9.)—Broken cross-head of sandstone, found with the others, 8 in. long, by 7 in. wide, by 5 in. thick; sculptured on three faces thus:

Front.—A single panel containing interlaced-work composed of Stafford knots arranged in two rows, facing

and Topog. Journ., vol. iv, p. 420, and in Prof. Stephens' *Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, p., 150, and by the Rev. Canon Browne before the Cambridge Ant. Soc., May 26th, 1884.

¹ This stone is described and illustrated in the *Yorkshire Archæol. and Topog. Journ.*, vol. iv, p. 418.

alternately upwards and downwards, and interwoven with two additional bands; being the same pattern as on the front of No. 1, except that the bands cross over each other at the junctions between each knot instead of running parallel.

Back.—A single panel containing irregular interlaced work.

End of arm.—A single panel containing interlaced work composed of a four-cord plait combined with figure-of-eight rings arranged in one row along the centre.¹

(No. 10.)—Broken cross-shaft of sandstone, found with the others, 5½ in. long, by 3½ in. wide, by 2 in. thick; sculptured on one face only thus:

Front.—Interlaced work.

(No. 11.)—Broken cross-shaft of sandstone, found with the others, 8 in. long, by 4 in. wide, by 5 in. thick; sculptured on two faces thus:

Front.—Scroll-foliage.

Back and left side.—Defaced.

Right side.—Border next each edge formed by a single incised line.

* * *

WAKEFIELD.—Ordnance Map, Sheet 87, N.W.

Broken cross of sandstone, found in use as the step to a barber's shop, and now preserved in the York Museum, 5 ft. 2 in. high, by 1 ft. 5 in. wide at the bottom, and 1 ft. 1 in. wide at the top, by 11 in. thick at the bottom and 10 in. thick at the top; sculptured on four faces thus:

Front.—On the head a single panel, only the lower part of which now remains, containing interlaced work composed of Stafford knots with two additional bands interwoven. On the shaft a single panel of interlaced work derived from a ten-cord plait by making cruciform breaks at regular intervals along the centre. The symmetrical knot thus produced is repeated four times in a single vertical row.

Back.—Defaced.

Right side.—On the shaft a single panel of interlaced

¹ This stone is described and illustrated in the *Yorkshire Archaeol. and Topog. Journ.*, vol. iv, p. 418.

work, derived from a six-cord plait by making breaks at regular intervals in the middle and along the sides, thus producing a twist combined with figure-of-eight rings, having the upper loop of the eight much smaller than the bottom one. There are several irregularities in the pattern, at the top and in other places.

Left side.—On the shaft a single panel of interlaced work, similar in pattern to that on the right side of the cross-shaft, but turned upside down. There are several irregularities in the pattern, particularly near the top, where a circular ring is introduced.¹

ANALYSIS OF ORNAMENT, ETC.

CLASSIFICATION OF MONUMENTS ACCORDING TO SHAPE, POSITION, AND STATE OF PRESERVATION.

Broken crosses :—

Burnsall, Kirkburton, Kirkby Hill, Kirkby Wharfe, Thornhill.

Complete cross-shafts, erect in new bases :—

Ilkley (2), Leeds.

Broken cross-shafts :—

Bilton, Bingley, Burnsall (4), Collingham (3), Crofton, Dewsbury (6), Ilkley (7), Kippax, Kirkby Hill (5), Ledsham (2), Otley (5), Ripon (3), Sheffield, Thornhill (9), Wakefield.

Broken cross-shafts, erect in old bases :—

Bilton, Guisley.

Broken cross-shafts, erect in new bases :—

Ilkley.

Complete cross-bases, erect in situ :—

Hartshead, Rastrick.

Complete cross-heads :—

Bilton.

Broken cross-heads :—

Burnsall (2), Collingham, Crofton, Dewsbury (6), Ilkley (3), Kirkby Hill, Kirkby Wharfe, Leeds, Middlemoor, Thornhill.

Sepulchral slabs :—

Kirkby Hill, Otley.

Headstones :—

Adel.

Coped stones :—

Burnsall, Dewsbury.

Architectural details of churches :—

Kirkby Hill, Ledsham, Ripon, Rothwell.

Fonts :—

Bingley.

¹ This stone is described in the Catalogue of the York Museum, p. 69.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF MONUMENTS.

*Mouldings on Vertical Angles of Cross-Shafts and Bases,
and Round Cross-Heads.*

Plain, flat band-moulding, or roll-moulding, on all the stones except those having special mouldings, mentioned below.

Roll and bead-moulding :—

Otley, Nos. 1 and 2.

Ordinary cable-moulding :—

Dewsbury, Nos. 4 and 5; Hartshead; Ilkley, Nos. 2, 4, 5, 7, 8.

Hollow cable-moulding :—

Dewsbury, No. 1.

Hollow and bead cable-moulding :—

Bilton, No. 1; Dewsbury, No. 2.

Horizontal Mouldings between Panels.

Flat band with chevrons :—

Ilkley, No. 6.

Flat band with dots and lines :—

Ilkley, No. 3.

Broad band with bead on each edge :—

Otley.

Miscellaneous.

Arcading :—

Collingham; Dewsbury, No. 8; Otley, No. 2; Rothwell, Nos. 1 and 2.

Canopy :—

Dewsbury, No. 7.

Circular medallion :—

Dewsbury, No. 9.

Raised bosses :—

Bilton, No. 2; Dewsbury, No. 3; Ilkley, No. 9.

Pillars on vertical angles of coped stone :—

Dewsbury, No. 10.

Roofing-tiles on sloping faces of coped stone :—

Dewsbury, No. 10.

Incised lines :—

Thornhill, Nos. 2, 6, 7, and 11.

Scales on beasts :—

Crofton, No. 1.

Bands of interlaced-work double-beaded :—

Crofton, No. 1.

INTERLACED-WORK FILLING RECTANGULAR SPACES.

Twisted and Looped Bands.

Two bands twisted together :—

Collingham, No. 1, F. 2.

Twist with angular bends :—

Dewsbury, Nos. 3, F, and B; Hartshead, F.

Twist combined with circular rings :—

Bilton, No. 2, B ; Collingham, No. 3, F.

Angular twist combined with figure-of-eight rings :—

Hartshead, F.

Fig. 1. Angular twist combined with chain of oval rings :—

Rastrick.

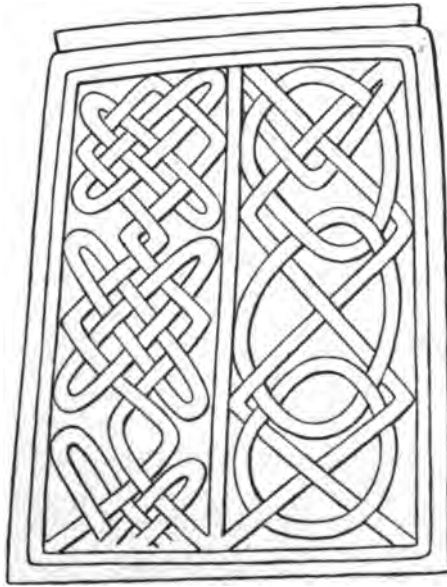


Fig. 1.—Rastrick.

Figs. 1 and 2. Angular twist combined with pairs of oval rings placed crosswise :—

Rastrick ; Thornhill, No. 8.

Angular twist combined with four-cornered rings :—

Dewsbury, No. 3, F.

Single band with loops alternately on opposite sides :—

Leeds, B, 2.

Fig. 3. Pair of bands with loops on opposite sides, placed facing in opposite directions :—

Leeds, B, 2.

Chain of rings :—

Burnsall, No. 1.

Regular Plaitwork.

Fig. 4. Plait of four bands combined with figure-of-eight rings in a single row along the centre :—

Dewsbury, No. 3, B ; Hartshead, F ; Thornhill, No. 9.

Fig. 5. Plait of four bands combined with figure-of-eight rings in double row :—

Thornhill.



Fig. 2.—Dewsbury.

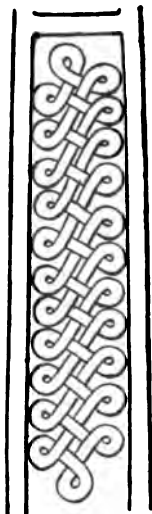


Fig. 3.—Leeds.

Broken Plaitwork.

Fig. 6. Plait of five bands with breaks at regular intervals :—
Ledsham.

Fig. 7. Plait of five bands with breaks at regular intervals :—
Ledsham.

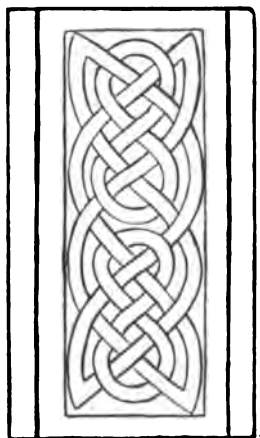


Fig. 4.—Thornhill.

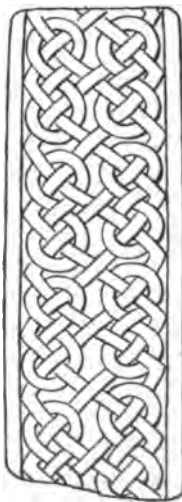


Fig. 5.—Thornhill.

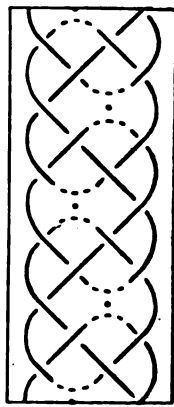


Fig. 6.—Ledsham.

Fig. 8. Plait of six bands with breaks at regular intervals :—
Otley, No. 1, L.

Fig. 9. Plait of six bands with breaks at regular intervals:—
Thornhill.

Fig. 10. Plait of six bands with breaks at regular intervals:—
Wakefield.

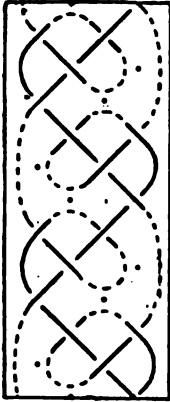


Fig. 7.
Ledsham.

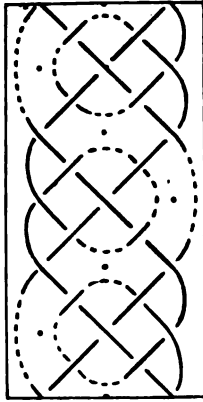


Fig. 8.
Otley.

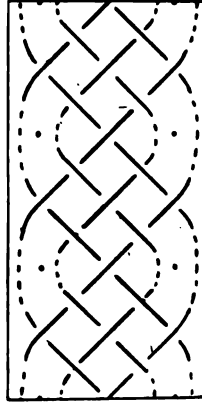


Fig. 9.
Thornhill.

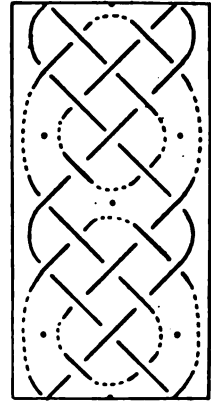


Fig. 10.
Wakefield.

Fig. 11. Plait of ten bands with breaks at regular intervals:—
Ripon.

Figs. 12 and 13. Plait of eight bands with breaks at regular intervals:—
Wakefield.

Plaitwork with breaks at irregular intervals:—
Ilkley, No. 8; Otley, No. 3, R.

Debased plaitwork:—
Bilston, No. 1, R.

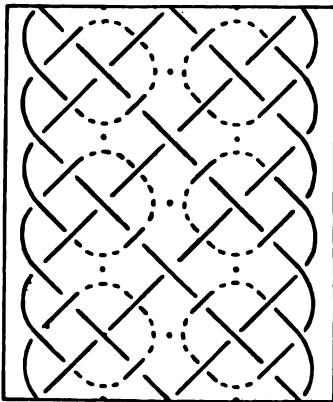


Fig. 11.—Ripon.



Fig. 12.—Wakefield.

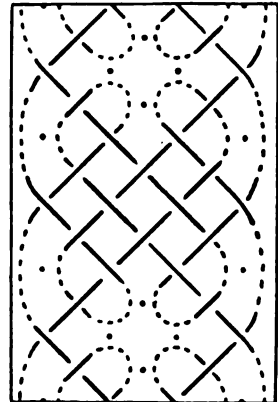


Fig. 13.—Wakefield.

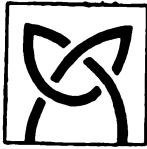
Knotwork.

Fig. 14.—Stafford Knot A.

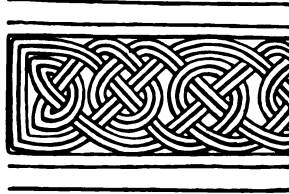


Fig. 15.—Otley.

Fig. 15. Stafford knot A used as termination of pattern composed of other knots :—

Collingham; Leeds, R, 2; Otley, No. 1, L.

Stafford knot A on the end of arm of cross :—

Collingham, No. 3, B; Kirkby Wharfe.

Stafford knot A introduced in the middle of pattern composed of other knots :—

Bilton, No. B.

Fig. 28. Stafford knot A forming junction between other knots :—

Ilkley, No. 7, B.

Stafford knot A formed by tail of beast :—

Ilkley.



Fig. 16.—Otley.



Fig. 17.—Thornhill.

Fig. 16. Stafford knots A, in double row; those in the right row facing all to the right, and those in the left row all facing to the left :—

Ilkley, No. 4, L.

Fig. 17. Stafford knots A, in double row, facing alternately upwards and downwards in each row, and with additional bands interlaced :—

Thornhill, No. 1, F.

Fig. 18. Stafford knots A arranged as in the preceding case, but with the bands crossing over at the junction between the knots instead of running parallel :—

Thornhill, No. 9, F.



Fig. 18.—Thornhill.



Fig. 19.
Fig.-Eight
Knot G.

Figure-of-eight knot G, placed horizontally :—
Collingham, No. 2, B; Otley, No. 1, R.

Figure-of-eight-knot G, formed by tails of two dragons :—
Otley, No. 1, R.



Fig. 20.—Knot F.



Fig. 21.—Knot D.

Knots F all right-handed, arranged in single row :—
Collingham, No. 1.

Knot D placed horizontally :—
Collingham, No. 1, F, 3.

Fig. 22. Knot D in single row, all facing the same way, and combined with an extra band on each side (No. 129) :—
Ilkley, No. 4, L.



Fig. 22.—Ilkley.

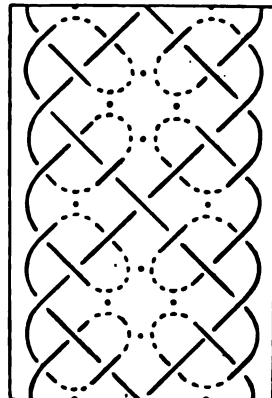


Fig. 23.—Ripon.

Fig. 23. Knot D in double row, facing in opposite directions (No. 123):—

Ripon, No. 3; Sheffield.



Fig. 24.—Spiral Knot C (right-handed).

Fig. 25. Spiral knots C, in single row, all right-handed, facing the same way:—

Dewsbury, No. 4, R; Ilkley, No. 5, L; Otley, No. 5.

Spiral knots C in single row, all left-handed, with extra turn to spiral, and all facing in the same direction, except the last knot in the row:—

Ripon, No. 3, F.

Fig. 26. Spiral knots C in double row, right and left handed, and facing in opposite directions:—

Ilkley, No. 7, L; Thornhill, No. 1, B.

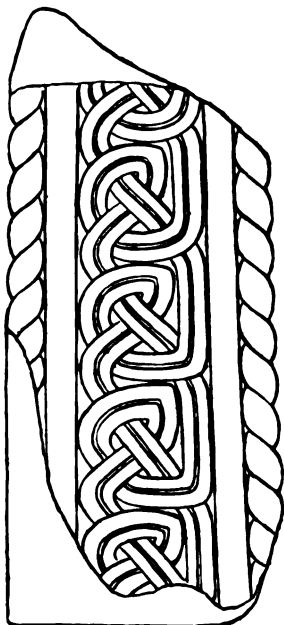


Fig. 25.—Dewsbury.



Fig. 26.—Thornhill.

The same as the preceding, but formed by the bodies of two serpents:—

Crofton, No. 1, B.

Fig. 27. Spiral knots C in double row, those in the row on the right side being alternately right-handed, facing upwards, and left-handed facing downwards; and those in the other row being the symmetrical opposite, but with extra turns to spiral) :—

Leeds, No. 1, B. 3.

Fig. 28. Circular knot, No. 170, in single row :—

Ilkley, No. 7, B; Kirkby Hill.



Fig. 27.—Leeds.



Fig. 28.—Ilkley.

Fig. 29. Circular knot resembling No. 181, but with concentric rings instead of continuous bands :—

Leeds, No. 1, B, 1.

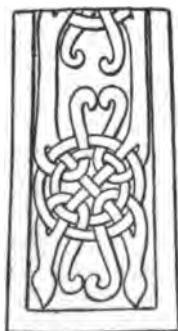


Fig. 29—Leeds.

INTERLACED-WORK FILLED INTO TRIANGULAR SPACES.

Triangular space bounded by two concave, circular arcs of scroll-foliage and one straight side of panel, filled in with triquetra or three-cornered knot :—

Ilkley, No. 1, W.

Triangular space bounded by two straight sides of a panel and one concave arc of inscribed circle, filled in with a pair of Stafford knots A distorted, and loop between :—

Hartshead, B.

Triangular spaces formed by dividing circle into four quadrants by two diameters intersecting at right angles, each filled in with Stafford knot A combined with additional band looped twice in each quadrant (No. 195, but circle instead of square) :

Hartshead, B.

Triangular spaces formed by dividing square into four quarters by two diagonals, each filled in with plaitwork having a loop introduced at the outer corners :—

Ilkley, No. 7, F.

Debased or irregular interlaced work :—

Bingley, No. 1; Hartshead; Otley, Nos. 3 and 4; Thornhill, No. 8, R, and No. 9, B.

KEY-PATTERNS.

Square, Z key-border :—

Bilton, No. 1, L; Dewsbury, No. 1; Kirkby Wharfe, R; Thornhill, No. 6, R.

Square, Z key-border with incised line in centre :—

Collingham, No. 2, L.

Square, T key-border :—

Bilton, No. 1, F, 3; and No. 2, ring; Kirkby Wharfe, L.

SCROLL-FOLIAGE.

Single undulating stem with scrolls in the hollows on each side :—

Collingham, No. 1, L; Crofton, No. 1, E and L; Dewsbury, Nos. 1, 4, 10; Ilkley, No. 1, E and W; No. 2, E and W; and No. 4; Ledsham, Leeds, Sheffield, Thornhill, No. 3, F.

Single straight stem in centre with scrolls branching from each side :—

Hartshead, F and B; Ilkley, No. 6, F; Rastrick.

Straight central stem with straight branches combined with two other stems, forming scrolls on each side :—

Thornhill, No. 6.

Pair of undulating stems springing from opposite sides of panel, and crossing at regular intervals :—

Ilkley, No. 1, E and W; Dewsbury, No. 7, F.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Ilkley, No. 2, N 2; No. 9, No. 10; Otley, Nos. 2 and 5.

BEASTS, BIRDS, SERPENTS, AND MYTHICAL CREATURES.

Beast with four legs, singly :—

Ilkley, No. 1, S 4, and No. 3, S 2, E 1 and W 1.

- Beast with four legs, singly, in foliage :—
Ikley, No. 10 F.
- Beasts with four legs, in pairs :—
Collingham, No. 1, F 3; Crofton, No. 1, F; Ikley, No. 2, S 3.
- Beast with four legs and wings, singly :—
Rothwell, No. 2, F 4.
- Beasts with four legs and wings, in pairs, in scrolls of foliage :—
Hartshead, B.
- Creature with two forelegs, wings, and tail of serpent, singly :—
Ikley, No. 1, S 3; Otley, No. 1, F and B.
- Creature with two forelegs and tail of serpent, singly :—
Ikley, No. 3, W 2.
- Creature with no legs and serpentine body, singly :—
Ikley, No. 3, W 2.
- Creatures with no legs and serpentine bodies, in pairs :—
Ikley, No. 1, S 2.
- Miscellaneous creatures :—
Ikley, No. 8, F, and No. 9.
- Serpents with bodies forming interlaced work, in pairs :—
Crofton, No. 1; Thornhill, No. 2, F.
- Birds in scrolls of foliage, singly :—
Otley, No. 2, B.
- Birds in scrolls of foliage, in pairs :—
Hartshead, F; Ikley, No. 2, S 5; Ledsham.
- Hawk :—
Leeds.

FIGURE-SUBJECTS.

- Adam and Eve :—
Kirkby Wharfe.
- Angel and kneeling figure :—
Dewsbury, No. 2.
- Archer kneeling :—
Sheffield.
- Christ in glory, enthroned :—
Dewsbury, No. 5, F.
- Crucifixion :—
Dewsbury, No. 4, B.
Kirkburton.
- Ecclesiastics with books :—
Otley, No. 2; Dewsbury, Nos. 8 and 9.
- Man with sword and hawk :—
Leeds.
- ” human head and beast’s claws :—
Leeds.
- ” sword :—
Otley, No. 5, F.

Man with two-pronged fork :—

Dewsbury, No. 4, B.

„ with hands upraised :—

Ilkley, No. 7, L.

Kippax.

„ with crown :—

Crofton, No. 2.

„ with sceptre :—

Crofton, No. 2.

Men, two, one holding knife :—

Bilton, No. 1, F 2.

„ four, with legs hampered :—

Bilton, No. 2.

Miracle of Cana :—

Dewsbury, No. 6, F 1.

Saints with nimbus :—

Collingham, No. 4.

Otley, No. 1, F and B.

„ „ holding croziers :—

Ilkley, No. 1, N 1.

Symbols of the four Evangelists :—

Ilkley, No. 1, N 1 to 4.

Virgin and Child :—

Dewsbury, No. 7, L.

Völund and the Swan Maiden :—

Leeds.

INSCRIPTIONS.

Anglian Runes :—

Bingley, Collingham, Kirkheaton, Leeds, Thornhill, Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

Anglo-Saxon capitals :—

Dewsbury, Ripon, Thornhill, Nos. 4 and 5.

Anglo-Saxon minuscules :—

Dewsbury, No. 1, F; Healaugh.

ENGLAND AND CASTILLE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY COMPARED.

BY T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

(*Read 11 July 1890.*)

(*Continued from p. 183.*)

ALPHONSO XI succeeded, at two years old, to a very disturbed kingdom, which had to be governed by a regency, which caused endless disputes, settled only when the King took the reins of power into his own hands, before the end of his minority, and by strong measures put an end to the union of nobles; and by securing peace within his own dominions, was free to make war on the Moors, from whom he captured Tarifa and Algeziras, and laid siege to Gibraltar. The King's connection with Leonor de Guzman incensed the clerical party as much as it did Mary of Portugal, his Queen; and the death of the King was the signal for a civil war, which ended in the succession to the throne of Henry of Trastamara.

Peter the Cruel, who had proved himself a good soldier, mounted the throne of Castille on the death of his father, Alphonso XI, but a formidable competitor was the illegitimate son of the late King and Leonor de Guzman. Peter, by retreating to Portugal, allowed Henry to take possession of Burgos and of the crown; but this latter King, presuming too much on the strength of his French support through General Bertrand Du Guesclin, was totally defeated at Najara, in 1367, by Peter with the assistance of our Edward the Black Prince. Peter then regained the throne, but his crimes, especially in the two murders charged against him, of Leonor de Guzman and Blanche of France, his legitimate wife, imprisoned two days after their nuptials at Toledo, and who died in the Castle of Xerez in 1361, can never be justified if true. He had, however, the support of England against Henry of Trastamara, by whose dagger he fell at the Castle of Montiel in 1369. Like his father's connection with Leonor de Guzman, he had formed a

mésalliance with Maria de Padilla, and he joined forces with the Moors against their mutual enemies, which was even looked upon by the French in a worse light than his many other crimes.

Henry II of Trastamara, during his eleven years' reign, managed, however, to conciliate the various classes of his subjects, and so compensate for the weakness of his title. His son, John I, succeeded him in 1379. This Prince had allied himself in marriage with Beatrice of Portugal, and claimed in her name to rule over that kingdom; but the battle fought at Aljubarotta in 1385 put an end to his claim, and his son, Henry III, came to the throne of Castille after his death in 1390.

Henry married Catherine, eldest daughter of Constance and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and thus her claim to the throne, such as it was, from her grandfather, Peter the Cruel, was united to that of her husband, derived from Henry II of Trastamara.

The King's son, who reigned as John II from 1406 to 1454, was sadly troubled by factions, firstly against the regency of his uncle Ferdinand and his mother, Catherine of Lancaster, and afterwards by the cabals of the nobles in their opposition to Alvaro de Luna, the favourite of the King, who may be said to have ruled the state for some thirty-five years, and was brought to the scaffold in 1453. The King died a year after this event, and with him ends the analogy which it was proposed to draw in the history of the two nations.

Before dismissing Castille, a remarkable fact should be recorded, that is, of a Spanish embassy under Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, sent out by Henry III of Castille to Tamerlane and to Bajazet in the East. The life of the great Tamerlane is related in a special chronicle first published by Argote de Molina in 1582; but it is chiefly compiled from a diary of the embassy, from its first setting out, in May 1403, from Port St. Mary's, to March 1406, the date of its return to Spain. This early political connection with monarchs of Asia may be the first opening of the drama which brought Christopher Columbus on the stage.

Contemporary with Peter the Cruel was Edward III in England, and our Richard II reigned during the

troubled times of the three monarchs who succeeded Peter in Castille. The Church had been depressed through the schism at its head by the election of two popes; hence the check it had previously been able to put upon the baronage was weakened, and especially in England, where the power of the commons was gaining strength by the alliance of the representatives of freeholders, or knights of the shire, deliberating with them in the lower house.

The three estates of clergy, baronage, and commons, had ruled affairs in England as they did in Spain, but Mr. H. Hallam attributes the difference in the subsequent phases of the two governments to this alliance in England of the knights of the shires with the deputies of the cities and boroughs in the same chamber.

The unwillingness of the clergy to act with the other two bodies in civil affairs tended also to diminish their influence; hence a great amount of friction, which caused nations to swerve one way and another in the half century under review; and in this new era it is not surprising that many old prejudices were weakened, and that rationalism and the claims of science should begin to make themselves felt. This dawn of progress may be likened to a wave sent forward in the advancing tide, which bids defiance to breakwaters and sandbanks; and though not immediately followed by others advancing as far, yet it still distinguishes the swelling from the ebbing tide, till high-water mark is ultimately reached.

It is not necessary to emphasise general and well-known events of the period in England, though it would have been interesting to trace by name the wire-pullers in the great drama of the fourteenth century connected with this University, but from their numbers space will not admit of it. The men have vanished, and a great part of the buildings also with which they were associated, yet their successors and newer architectural works continue to keep their memory green, and the story of many of them will remain a heritage for Oxford to be proud of in all times.

In early days the Roman camp of Dorchester defended the first-planted offshoots of growing Christianity in Mercia, till the defence was no longer required, and d'Oilly's mound and castle were sufficient to protect the

growing city and the relics of St. Frideswide, a saintly Abbess of the eighth century, a part of whose nunnery is the Cathedral, now used as the chapel of Christ Church College, then the place of worship for the nuns of St. Frideswide. The large, original bishopric of Dorchester was divided, and the headquarters of the remainder was removed to Lincoln.

Oxford is as good a type of a mediæval city as London, which it followed in its acts and in its customs. The communication between them by water was commodious, and their government was built up on the mutual experience of each. Thus Oxford had its bailiff, its laws, its guilds (half commercial and half religious), its holy wells, and privileged fairs and markets.

Robert d'Oily began to build his Castle in 1071, and married Ealdgyth, one of the daughters and heiresses of Wiggod of Wallingford, who had been cup-bearer to Edward the Confessor. Robert and his English wife were childless; but in the next generation the Castle was held by his nephew, a second Robert, who was married to Edith, who had been one of the mistresses of Henry I. So the story goes. This lady founded a house for Austin Canons at Osney, in the meadows beyond the Castle, and Ralph became the first Prior in 1129. The second Prior grew into an Abbot, who bore the name of Wiggod. Osney was rebuilt in 1247, and the seven bells in the western tower became the celebrated bells of Christ Church. Oxford Castle and Robert d'Oily the younger played an important part in the civil wars of King Stephen and Matilda his cousin.

In Henry III's time Oxford city came to the front by the important events enacted, and the political meetings held here. The Jews had long before been encouraged to settle, and seem to have first built stone houses, as they did at Lincoln, or stone walls to divide the less substantial houses of previous times. The knowledge of Hebrew was a means of introducing many useful sciences, and we find the language introduced into University studies in Henry III's reign.

The expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, by Edward I, was a grave political error, as was a similar event in Spain at about the same time. The motive

assigned for the cruel slaughter of Jews in London was that a Jew had forced a Christian to pay more than 2*d.* a week for the loan of 40*s.*, contrary to law.¹

In 1161 a charter was given by Henry II, as we learn from an *Inspecimus* of Queen Elizabeth, which said :— “I have granted and confirmed to my citizens in Oxenford all liberties, and customs, and laws, and quittances, which they had in the time of King Henry, my grandfather, and especially their guild-merchant, so that any one who is not of the guild-hall shall not traffic in city or suburbs, except as he was wont in the time of King Henry my grandfather.” And further he says : “Let them not plead outside the city of Oxenford about any claim made on them ; but they shall settle the suit according to the laws and customs of the citizens of London, and not otherwise, for they and the citizens of London have one and the same custom, and law, and liberty.”²

The barbers, at their incorporation in 1348, at the order of the Vice-Chancellor, agreed that they would yearly maintain a light in Our Lady's Chapel at St. Frideswide, for the sure continuance of which every man or woman of the profession, that had a shop, was bound to pay 2*d.* each quarter ; two journeymen, 1*d.* ; and to keep it always burning, under a penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* They were not to work on Sundays, except on market Sundays in harvest time ; nor shave any but such as were to preach or do a religious act, on the Sundays, in any part of the year.

Woodstock, the great hunting-park for game, about eight miles from Oxford, established by Henry I, became an important royal residence, much frequented by Queen Eleanor of Guienne, and equally celebrated for her husband's Fair Rosamond Clifford, whose semi-mythical biography still clings to the park and neighbourhood.

Henry III, in 1255, doubled the number of aldermen in Oxford, and associated eight leading burgesses with them, mainly to keep peace between the University and city, and to see that the assize of bread, beer, and wine, was observed. The four aldermen corresponded to the

¹ Baker's *Chronicle*.

² Quoted by C. W. Boase, *Oxford*, in the “Historic Towns” Series, edited by E. A. Freeman and W. Hunt, to whom I am indebted for many details as to the city and University.

four wards of the city, which were formed by the four streets that cross at right angles by Carfax.

The names of early celebrities among the citizens long lingered in the names of streets and houses. Peckwater Quadrangle occupies the site where stood the house of Ralph Peckwater, who was a bailiff of the city under Henry III. Pembroke Street has superseded the name of Pennyfarthing Street, named from the Pennyverthings, one of whom was bailiff in that reign.

The names of two burgesses are preserved, Thomas de Savoy and Andrew de Pyrie, who were elected by writ to represent the city in Edward I's great Parliament of 1295. The Members for counties received 4s. a day, while town Members had only 2s.; and these payments were found to be so onerous in the early days of parliamentary life, that to delegate Members was considered rather a grievance than a privilege.

The watch and ward is a subject of interest. "A law of Henry III, in 1233, ordains that watch be kept in every township at night, from the day of Our Lord's Ascension to Michaelmas, by four men at least, if the township is small, and in proportion if it is large; and any stranger passing through at night shall be arrested till morning; and if the watch cannot arrest him, they shall raise hue and cry after him."

Charming is it to meditate on the past history of our country in the picturesque Meadows of Christ Church, between the rivers Isis and Cherwell, or down the famous High Street, or up Turl Street, or by St. Mary's Church, leading up to a cluster of Museums and Libraries,—the Radcliffe with its noble dome, the Bodleian, the Ashmolean Museum, the Clarendon Theatre, the Divinity School, and Sheldonian Theatre,—all put to good uses in the present, and several of them recalling scenes of interest and of woe in the past.

Oxford lies before and around us, spread out like a chart of history, and its buildings telling their tale at every step. Camden is eloquent in introducing "our most noble Athens, the seat of the English Muses; the prop and pillar, nay, the sun, the eye, the very soul of the nation; the most celebrated fountain of wisdom and learning, from whence religion, letters, and good manners

are happily diffused through the whole kingdom." Out of the annals of Winchester he quotes the founding of the University in 1306, in the second year of St. Grimbald's coming over to England. He adds that in the Council of Vienna it was determined that schools for the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic tongues should be erected in the studies of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, as the most eminent; and for the maintenance of the professors in Oxford, all the prelates in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and all monasteries, chapters, convents, colleges, exempt and not exempt, and all rectors of parish churches, should make a yearly contribution.

Master Robert Pullein, who had been trained in Paris, began to lecture on the Scriptures at Oxford in 1133, and sixteen years later Vacarius, the Lombard, a friend of Archbishop Theobald, taught Roman law there. Giraldus Cambrensis, in about 1186, read the three parts of his Topography of Wales, on three days, before the students, and says that he gave a grand entertainment on the occasion.

The Mendicant Friars settled here in the thirteenth century, and powerfully influenced both the University and city. Agnellus of Pisa, the first Provincial of the Franciscan Order in England, built a school in the Fraternity of Oxford, and persuaded Robert Grosseteste to lecture there. This reforming Bishop of Lincoln was a friend of Simon de Montfort. The Franciscan scholars gave the University a European reputation, for Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William Occam were trained here. At last the domains of the Franciscans became larger than those of any other convent, except Osney and St. Frideswide. Each religious house had a school for every purpose, for grammar as well as the higher faculties, and were to a great extent independent of the University, and yet a part of it.

The religious houses had great influence over the poor by the amount of charitable funds at their disposal, and in some cases they had even the control of the popular fairs. The fair of St. Frideswide, whose memory was kept up by an annual cake-stall still in St. Aldate's, lasted for seven days,—10-16 July, afterwards 18-24 October. During the continuance of this great fair the

custody of the city was given up into the hands of the Monastery, and the keys of the city gates were given over by the Mayor to the Prior.¹

Nothing but a few schools or lecture-rooms existed in early times. Afterwards the Abbot of Osney built fourteen schools out of the thirty-two in School Street,—a street that ran along the present front of Brasenose College. The students found lodgings in private houses and in inns or hostels: another name for them was “entries”. Before the schools were united under one head, and the name of University introduced, they were known as “Studies”. Just as we read that in Spain the name of *Estudios Generales* was then given to what we call Universities. There was, however, at that early period no such establishment in Castille, except one which had existed in a very rude state at Salamanca, and to which Alphonso X gave the first proper endowment in 1254. The laws about their government fill the thirty-first *titulo* of the second *Partida* of his code.

Camden enumerates the colleges in chronological order, founded in or before the period here reviewed, and says that before the reign of Henry III the greatest part of the colleges, halls, and schools, stood without the North Gate. Then in that reign John Baliol of Barnard Castle, who died in the year 1269, father of John Baliol, King of Scots, founded Baliol College; and soon after Walter Merton, Bishop of Rochester, transferred the College which he had built in Surrey to Oxford, in the year 1274, endowed, and called it Merton College. Then William, Archdeacon of Durham, repaired and restored the foundation (of King Alfred?) which we now call University College. Under Edward II, Walter Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, built Exeter College and Hart Hall; and the King, after his example, a royal college, commonly called Oriel, and St. Mary Hall. After this, Queen Philippa, wife of King Edward III, built Queen's College; and Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, Canterbury College. About that time William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, built a magnificent structure called New College, into which the ripest lads are every year transplanted from his other College of Winchester.

¹ *Historic Towns, ubi passim.*

Then Richard Angervil, Bishop of Durham (called "Philobiblios", or the lover of books), began a public library; and his successor, Thomas de Hatfield, built Durham College for the benefit of the monks of Durham; and Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, founded Lincoln College. About the same time the Benedictine monks built Gloucester College at their own proper cost, where were constantly maintained two or three monks of every house of that Order, who afterwards should profess *good* letters in their respective convents. To speak nothing of the canons of St. Frideswide, there were erected no less than four beautiful cells of friars in the suburbs, where there often flourished men of considerable parts and learning.

The churches of Oxford were numerous in these early days. *Domesday* mentions incidentally St. Mary, St. Michael, St. Ebbe, and St. Peter. From the chartularies of Abingdon, Osney, and St. Frideswide, we get four more names,—St. Martin, St. George, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Frideswide itself; and in a charter attributed to Henry I eight more are named. But the number of churches did not prevent the "town and gown" affrays which periodically disturbed Oxford, one of the most serious of which was that on St. Scholastica's Day, 1354, continuing from sunrise till noontide, in which time some forty scholars seem to have been killed; and it was ordered that a Mass should be said at St. Mary's Church, on the anniversary of the event, for the souls of the clerks and others killed in the conflict.

The "black death" visited this country in 1349 with as much severity as the rest of Europe, and probably may have originated the romance on "The Dance of Death", popular everywhere in poems and sculpture, and of which a Spanish version, written by the Archpriest of Hita, in the last years of Alphonso XI, was probably the best.¹

Chroniclers were not wanting in England. Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* was translated into English by John Trevisa, under our Richard II; Longland, the popular author of *Piers Plowman*; Lydgate, the poet; John

¹ For this and many particulars as to Castilian writers I am indebted to *History of Spanish Literature*, by George Ticknor, 3 vols., 1849.

Gower, who studied at Merton College; and Chaucer, the Laureate, dwelt on the vices and pleasures of the time; while John Wycliff, the Master of Baliol, was advocating reforms in Church and State, which brought him many listeners, and seemed about to establish Lollardy for many a long day; but the orthodox party were too strong for him, notwithstanding the high patronage of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. Henry IV considered the extirpation of heresy to be a conscientious duty, and one which in the end would effect its object.

Lincoln College was founded in 1427, expressly as a little college of theologians "to help in ruining heresy", and had three churches annexed to it,—All Saints', St. Michael's, and St. Mildred's.

This sparse chronicle of events may suffice to call to mind what was going on in the two countries in the second half of the fourteenth century, by which the remarkable intellectual revival of the period may be accounted for and tested; and Oxford may well be taken as the barometer or gauge of the social atmosphere in our country.

My friend Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., of the British Museum, has pointed out an instrument preserved there of Alphonso X, which in many ways illustrates what has here been said. He has given me the transcript of it, which follows. The date is of the Spanish era 1292, *i.e.*, A.D. 1254 of our computation; and the King, who confirms it with his seal manual of Castille, refers to the privileges accorded by his great-grandfather to the Hospital of Burgos, which he renews and confirms. The deed is witnessed by grandees of Spain, the Archbishop of Santiago, many Bishops, the Masters of Santiago and Calatrava, and by several of his Moorish vassals, that is, Kings of Granada, Murcia, and Niebla. Incidentally the mention of the knighting of Edward I, on the occasion of his marriage with Eleanor, is an interesting testimony to the fact.

"Connosçuda cosa sea a todos los oïns q̃ esta Carta uieren. Cueno yo don ALFONSO por la gr̃a de dios Rey de Castiella. de Toledo de Leon de Gallizia de Seuillia de Cordoua de Murçia 7 de Jañu. Ui Priuilegio del Rey don Alfonsso mio visauuelo ffecho en esta guisa.

"Non inmerito ad helemosinā coniuuētūr q' per eam obtinere sperant ueniam delictorum . Ea ppter ego ALDEFONSUS dī grā Rex Castlle 7 Totti . Parentum mōrum remissionem 7 ppriam necnon 7 kmī filij mī bone memorie donni fferrandi cui⁹ anima sempitna perfrui req'ie mēatur desiderās prōmeri . una cum uxore mīa Alienore Regina . 7 cū filio mō dño Henrrico . libenti animo 7 uoluntate spontanea ffatō cartam donatōnis . concessionis . confirmatōnis 7 stabilitatis dō 7 hospitali mō apd Burg ppe monastium sēe marie Regalis in uia que ducit ad sēm Jacobum . ad sustentatōnem pauperum hēdificatō ? ppetuo ualituram . Dono itaq 7 concedo . predicto hospitali hēditates mās ag'culture . q's habō in villa felmiro . in Ouirna . in Sotopalatōs . in Arroyal . 7 in Villauascones . cum omib⁹ Pratis . Pascuis . Molendinis . 7 omib⁹ pertinencijs suis ad ag'culturam pertinentib⁹ . 7 cum omī iure qd ibi habebam 7 habere debebam ad apotecam mām pertinente ut illas jure hēditario habeat 7 irreuocabilī sine contraditōne aliq^a possideat in efnum . Siq' uero hanc cartam infringere ūl in aliq^o diminuere psumpserit . iram dī omīptotentis plenarie incurrat . 7 Regie parti mille aureos in cauto persoluat 7 dāpnū predicto hospitali super hoc illatum restituat duplicatum . Ffacta carta apd Burg . Reg . Exp . vi^o . die Ap'lis . Era M^a . cc^a L^a ii^a . iij^o . uidelicet anno quo ego pdictus . A . Rex . Amiramomenmī Regem de Marrochos apd nauas de Tolosa campestri plio deuici . nō mīs mītis sed dī mīcēdia 7 mōr⁹ auxilio uassaloz . Et ego A . Rex Regnās in Castlla 7 in Toledo hanc cartā q'am fieri iussi manu ppria Roboro 7 confirmo .

"Et yo sobredicho Rey don ALFONSO Regnāt en uno con la Reyna doña YOLANT mi mugier . 7 con mis ffigas la Infante doña Berenguella 7 la Infante doña Beatriz . en Castiella en Toledo en Leon en Gallizia en Seuillia en Cordoua en Murçia en Jahñ en Baeça en Badilloz 7 en el Algarue Otorgo este Priuilegio 7 confirmolo . Et mando q̄ uala assi como uallio en tiempo del Rey don ALFONSO mio visauuelo . Ffecha la carta en Burgos por mandado del Rey .xxx . dias andidos del mes de Deziembre . En era de miff y dozientos y Nonaenta y dos años . E nel año q̄ don Odoart ffigo p'mero y hēdero del Rey Henrric de Angla tierra Recibio Cauaffeia in Burgos del Rey don ALFONSO el sobredicho .

"Don Alfonsso de Molina la conf'.

Don Ffrederic la conf'.

Don Henrric la conf'.

Don Manuel la conf'.

Don Fferrando la conf'.

Don Ffelipp etcto de Seuillia la conf'.

Don Sancho etcto de Toledo la conf'.

Don Johñ Arçobispo de Sanctyago la conf'.

Don Aboabdille abennazar Rey de Granada uassallo del Rey la conf'.

Don mahomat abenmahomat abenhut Rey de Murçia uassallo del Rey la conf'.

Don Abenmahfot Rey de Niebla uassallo del Rey la conf'.

Don Apparitio obpo de Burgos 9.
 La Eglia de Palñcia vaga.
 Don Bernōdo obpo de Segouia 9f.
 Don P^o obpo de Siguença la conf.
 Don Gil obpo de Osuma la 9f.
 Don Mathe obpo de Cuenca la 9f.
 Don Benito obpo de Auila 9f.
 Don Aznañ obpo de Calahorra 9f.
 Don Lopp etcto de Cordoua la 9.
 Don Adam obpo de Plazēcia la 9f.
 Don Paschual obpo de Johñ 9f.
 Don ffrey P^o obpo de Cartagēna 9.
 Don Pedriuañes maestre de la Orden de Calatraua la 9f.
 Don Anño gonçalvez la 9f.
 Don Alfonsso lopez la conf.
 Don R^o gonçalvez la 9f.
 Don Symon Royz la conf.
 Don Alfonsso tellez la conf.
 Don fferrand royz de Cast^o la 9f.
 Don P^o nuñez la conf.
 Don Nuno guiffm la 9f.
 Don P^o guzman la conf.
 Don R^o gonçalvez el miño la 9f.
 Don Rodrig aluarez la 9f.
 Don fferrand garcia la conf.
 Don Alfonsso garcia la conf.
 Don Diago gomez la conf.
 Don Gomez royz la conf.
 Don Gaston Vizcomde de Beart uassallo del Rey la conf.
 Don Gⁱ..... Vizcomde de Limoges uassallo del Rey la conf."

Here is a wheel-shaped circle, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, containing in the centre an ornamental cross fleury, with two concentric circles inscribed in ornamental capital letters :

1. The inner circle,—

SIGNO DEL REY DON ALFONSO.

2. The outer circle,—

✠ EL AFFEREZIA DEL REY VAGA . DON IVAN GARCIA MAYOR-
DOMO DELA CORTE DEL REY LA CONFIRMA.

" Don martin fferrādez etcto de Leō.
 Don P^o obpo de Ouiedo la conf.
 Don P^o obpo de Çamora la 9f.
 Don P^o obpo de Salamāca 9f.
 Don P^o obp de Astorga la 9f.
 Don Leonart obpo de Cipdad 9f.
 Don Migael obpo de Lugo 9f.
 Don Johñ obpo de Orens la 9f.
 Don Gil obpo de Tui 9f.

Don Johñ obpo de Mendonado 9.

Don Pº obpo de Coria la 9ª.

Don ffrey Robrt obpo de Silue 9.

Don Pelay perez maestre de la Orden de Sanctyago la 9ª.

Don Rodrig Alfonsso la conf'.

Don martin Alfonsso la conf'.

Don Rodrigo gomez la conf'.

Don Rº ffrolaz la conf'.

Don Johñ perez la conf'.

Don ferrand yuñes la conf'.

Don martin Gil la conf'.

Don Andreo perteguero de Sanctyago la conf'.

Don gonçaluo ramirez la 9ª.

Don Rº rodriguez la conf'.

Don Aluar diaz la conf'.

Don Pelay perez la conf'.

Diago lopez de Salzedo m̃ino mayor de Castiella la 9ª.

Gara suarez m̃ino mayor de Reyno de Murçia la 9ª.

Maestre ferrando Notario del Rey en Castiella 9ª.

Roy lopez de Mendoça Almirage de la mar la mar (*sic*) la 9ª.

Sancho martinez de xodar Adelantado de la frontera la 9ª.

Gara perez de Toledo Notario del Rey en Andaluzia 9ª.

Gonçaluo morant m̃ino mayor de Leon la 9ª.

Roy suarez m̃ino mayor de Gallizia la conf'.

Suero perez Notario del Rey en Leon la 9ª.

Johñ perez de Cuenca la escriuo el año fçero q̃ el Rey don Affonsso Regno."

On the flap is written, in a late hand,—

"Preuillejo de gfyrmacion del Rey dō Aº de villa hermero y de las heredades de soto palacios y de arroyal e de villa vascosñs."

The leaden *bull*a is appended by green silk strands.

Various endorsements :—

"Burgos . 6 de Abrill 1292. No. 11. Rey Don Alfonso 8 hace la donacion al hospital q̃ fundo."

"✠ Carta de preuilegio . y donacion que Elrrei don Alº octauo fundahor Desta rreal casa le hizo De los lugares de arroyal digo de las heredades . que le pertenecian en samames y villahermero . y soto palacios y obierna . esta confirmado por el Rey don Aº su bisnietto."

"Confirma el Rey Don Alfonso 10 el Sabio su bisnieto en Burgos a 30 de Dziembre era 1292."

"Pº de ouiena soto palacios villa hermero Arroyal Villauascones."

"✠ Re y fundador."

"Merced de los Heredamientos de Villa Hermero aroyal Vbierna Sotopalacios Villa bascones y San mames."

"Cajon . 18 . legº 1º nº 4º."

(British Museum, Add. Ch. 24,804.)

PENENDEN HEATH.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

(Read 3 June 1891.)

MIDWAY between the extreme northern and southern limits of the parish of Boxley, and in the very centre of the county of Kent, lies the historic Penenden Heath, now in its reduced proportions no longer the harbour for gipsies and tramps, but converted into a pleasure-ground for the neighbouring town of Maidstone. To realise to the full the important place this Heath once held in English history, the mind must go back far beyond the times when it witnessed the frequent gatherings of the Sheriff and his *posse comitatus*, to transact the business of the county, and the more exciting occasions of the election of knights of the shire, which for many generations always took place here; or those sadder scenes of public executions, of which the record still remains in the name of the mound close by, still called "Gallows Hill", with the adjacent road known as "Hangman's Lane". Long anterior to this runs the real history of Penenden Heath.

In the writings of the earliest monastic chroniclers mention is made of it, and that in connection with one of the most momentous events in English history. Here was held, in 1076,¹ the memorable trial in which an Archbishop of Canterbury, and a brother of a King—and he the Conqueror,—were the contending parties. The case may be thus stated. When the Conqueror had removed Stigand from the Primacy, on the ground of uncanonical

¹ There seems to be some difference in opinion as to the exact date of this trial. England's greatest Norman historian (*Norman Conquest*, iv, p. 365) suggests the year 1073; but if Ernostus was, as his successor Ernulph says, Bishop of Rochester at the time, it could not have been before 1076, in the spring of which year he was consecrated, and died in the following July. Æthelric also is by him styled Bishop of Chichester, which title he really never bore; and the transfer from Selsey to Chichester did not take place till the year 1075; consequently 1076 is the date here given.

and schismatical consecration, and a delay occurred in the arrival of Lanfranc, whom he designed for the vacant post, the King brought over from Normandy his half-brother Odo, who was already Bishop of Baieux, and, probably to console him for not having the Primacy, had not only created him Earl of Kent and Warden of Dover Castle, but had conferred on him no less than 184 manors in Kent and about 250 in other parts of England, and had also given over to him the charge of the temporalities of the vacant see of Canterbury. But Lanfranc, on his arrival in England, found that Odo had grievously abused the power and authority entrusted to him, and had appropriated to himself, and conferred on his minions, many valuable manors belonging to the see, and had also encroached upon the rights of the Primacy, and even of the Crown. He at once appealed to the King for justice and restitution. Whereupon William issued a summons to the Sheriff of Kent to convene a "schiregemot", in terms most explicit and stringent, to all concerned. "Charge them from me", it ran, "that they restore to my episcopal and abbatial estates all the demesne, etc., which my bishops and abbots through easiness, fear, or cupidity, have given up, and agreed to their having, or which they themselves have violently deprived them of; and unless they make restitution, as you shall summon them from me, do thou compel them to do so whether they will or no. If any other, or any of you on whom I have enjoined this mandate, have participated in this, let him make similar restitution of any episcopal or abbatial property which he may have, lest on account of what any of you may yourself possess, you be the less ready to enforce my command"; etc.¹

Such a summons could not fail to have effect. Penenden Heath was to be the place of meeting, and thither the magnates of the land, Norman and Saxon, came together to hear the charges to be brought by Lanfranc against the King's half-brother.

Well might each old chronicler dwell with seeming delight on the picture he has drawn, in his nervous and graphic mediæval Latin, of the scene here enacted. Such

¹ The original summons is given in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i, p. 3.

a court of justice, taking into account the position of those principally concerned, could never before have sat on English soil. Here were Norman and Saxon bishops, Norman barons and knights, Saxon earls and thanes, types of the two races, on whom, now that he was seated on his throne, the Conqueror desired to see justice administered, and whom he in his heart hoped, if it might be, to see welded into one people.

Of this remarkable trial, the best account that has come to us is that of Ernulph,¹ who may be regarded as a contemporary authority, for he had been a Benedictine monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, of which house he was appointed Prior in 1096, promoted to be Abbot of Peterborough in 1107, and seven years after raised to the bishopric of Rochester.² To his pen we are indebted for the earliest history of that diocese, and for the fullest account of the Penenden trial. Even he, however, gives us little more than the bare names of those who were present; and to contemporary readers what more would be necessary? for to them the name and position of each would be familiar. But it is not so after a lapse of eight hundred years. A more detailed description is now necessary to make the grandeur of that scene intelligible. The very presence of those men on such an occasion shows that each must have had a conspicuous personality which alone would entitle him to be there; and it is only by investing each one with his own individuality (so far as is possible after so long an interval) that the representative character of the assembly can be realised.

The King was fitly represented by Geoffrey de Mowbray, Bishop of Coutance (*Goisfridus Constantiensis*), and now Justiciar of England, whom Eadmar describes as a man of great wealth³ as well as of high authority. He had been an old vassal of William's in the days of his Norman dukedom, having in 1048 been appointed to the see of Coutance, and soon after the Conquest brought over to England, and in 1070 placed in his present office of "Legal Deputy", in which capacity he was fitly selected

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i, p. 334.

² Godwin, *De Presulibus*, p. 526.

³ "Vir ea tempestate prædives in Anglia." (*Historia*, lib. i, p. 31.)

to preside at the impending trial, "to see justice administered."

By his side, as the sage expounder of Saxon customs as well as joint arbiter¹ with him, sat Æthelric,² an old Saxon Bishop, whose had been a strangely chequered career. Originally a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, he had been raised, in the year 1057, to the South Saxon bishopric of Selsey by Edward the Confessor; but soon after William's arrival he, with Stigand of Canterbury and Æthelmar of Elmham, had been summarily deposed on the ostensible ground of irregular consecration, though more probably on the real ground of their Saxon origin, and to make room for Norman successors. Æthelric, however, had fared the worst of the three, for not only did he lose his bishopric, as the chroniclers say, "unjustly and uncanonically",³ but was brought to trial (on what charge is not stated) before a synod held at Windsor, and sent to prison at Marlborough. His fame, however, had survived; and now his high repute for learning, and his special knowledge of English laws and customs, marked him out for a place (and an important one) at this impending trial. So by the King's special mandate he was summoned to take his seat beside the Justiciar of England; but so broken down had he become by age and trouble⁴ that he was no longer able to bear the fatigue of riding on his palfrey, or even the jolting of an ordinary vehicle, and by the King's order he was brought in *quadriga*, in a car drawn by four horses.

With them sat Ernustus, the recently appointed Bishop of Rochester, a favourable type of a Norman churchman. The King had brought him over from the Monastery of

¹ Bishop Godwin (*De Presulibus*, p. 501) describes his position as "Arbiter honorarius constitutus una cum Godfrido Constantiensi."

² It is remarkable that both Ernulph and Eadmer style Æthelric "Bishop of Chichester", whereas it was the bishopric of Selsey from which he was deposed, and the see was not transferred to Chichester till 1075, five years after his deposition.

³ Florence of Worcester (Hearne's ed., ii, 6) says "Non canonice degradatur, et sine culpa mox Rex in custodia posuit." Bishop Godwin (*De Presulibus*, 501), on his testimony, puts it that he was "exautoratus injuste".

⁴ "Homo grandævus jumentum concussionem non ferens vehiculo ad locum destinatum deportatus est (Pinenden Heath)." (Godwin's *De Presulibus*, p. 501.)

Bec, and made him Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and in the beginning of the year 1076 Lanfranc had selected him¹ for the see of Rochester, "to set in order the things that were wanting"² after seventeen years of misrule and neglect under the last Bishop, Siward.

These three may be regarded as forming the judicial bench. Beside them, probably in the character of assessors, were some of the county magnates, Richard Fitz-Gilbert, one of the Conqueror's special comrades, on whom he had conferred, with many other manors, that of Tonbridge, which gave him his Kentish title, and subsequently that of Clare³ in Suffolk, by which he was more commonly known as Richard de Clare; Haimo de Crevequer, too, at the time Sheriff of Kent, in whom the King reposed so much confidence that he not only gave him the lordship of Leeds Castle, but also made him a joint-Conservator of Dover Castle, one of the highest posts of trust in his newly acquired kingdom.

The defendant in this suit was none other than Odo, the Bishop of Baieux, the King's half-brother, the second most powerful man in the kingdom,—if even second to the King himself,—of whom mention has been already made. He stood there to give account for his deeds of rapacity and injustice. With him, too, were many of the leading Normans who had benefited by his illegal and unrighteous acts of spoliation. Here were Herbert Fitz-Ivo,—probably Ivo Taillebois, a companion of the Conqueror, who was noted for his haughtiness and rapacity; the misshapen Turond of Rochester, "whose dwarfish form still lives in the Tapestry of Bayeux";⁴ Hugh de

¹ The nomination to the see of Rochester had, from the time of Augustine, lain with the Archbishop of Canterbury until the year 1147, when Archbishop Theobald waived the right, and conceded it to the monks of Rochester, who elected Walter, the Archbishop's brother, at the time Archdeacon of Canterbury. (Godwin, *De Presul.*, p. 527: Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 247.)

² "Malis ut occurreret, et Ecclesiæ res in meliorem locum redigeret, Arnostum, Monachum Beccensem, cujus animi virtutes satis habebat perspectas, Lanfrancus antistitem hic constituit." (Godwin, *De Presul.*, p. 525.)

³ In Doyle's *Baronage* he is styled "Lord of Tunbridge" and "Earl of Clare", and is said, on the authority of Ordericus Vitalis, to have been Chief Joint-Justiciar in 1074, in which capacity he may have been present at Penenden.

⁴ Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, iv, p. 364.

Montford, so highly esteemed and trusted by the King that he had made him, in conjunction with Odo, the first Constables of Dover Castle ; Ralf de Curva-Spina (or " Crooked Thorn ") ; William d'Arces, and other Norman chiefs who were parties to the wrong that had been perpetrated under his auspices and his example.

Against this formidable array—the Bishop of Baieux and his satellites—there stood up, single-handed and alone, but strong in the justice of his cause, Lanfranc, the famed student, but still more famed Advocate, of his native Pavia, with his Italian face and lordly bearing,¹ to vindicate the Church's claims and to recover her rights. For three days (says the chronicler) did he argue cause after cause, and establish claim after claim, with such profound learning and subtle casuistry as to call forth the astonishment and admiration of the assembled nobles, Norman and Saxon alike.

The result is given in fuller detail by Eadmer.² Some twenty-five manors or lordships, with the advowsons attached, did he recover for the See and the Priory of Canterbury. From Odo himself he rescued, in the county of Kent, *Raculfe*, Reculver ; *Sandwic*, Sandwich ; *Medetuna*, ? Maidstone ; *Liminge*, Saltwood (*Saltwude*) ; *Niwendenne*, Nevenden ; *Prestituna*, Preston near Faversham ; *Sanderhurste*, Sandhurst ; *Earheth*, Erith ; Orpington ; Eynesford ; *Heisa*, Hayes. Nor had Odo confined himself to archiepiscopal manors in Kent. There were in Middlesex,—*Herghae*, Harrow ; in Surrey, *Murtelache*, Mortlake ; in Buckinghamshire, *Risberga*, Monks' Risborough ; and other lesser manors.

Other Sees also had suffered to satisfy the greed of his Norman hangers-on, and these Lanfranc claimed back. For the see of Rochester he recovered and restored to Gundulph, who had, meanwhile, succeeded Ernulph, *Estoces*, Stoke ; *Danituna*, Denton ; *Falkenham* or *Frackenham*, Fawkham. He also forced Hugh de Montford to give up *Hroxinges*, Rucking ; *Broche*, Broke ; besides others which he had received from Odo ; and wrested from Ralph de Crookthorn some rich pastures in the proverbially fertile Isle of Grain.

¹ Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, ii, pp. 74, 79.

² Eadmer's *History*, p. 197.

In every case he restored to the spoliated Sees the manors of which they had been so unscrupulously robbed, and, moreover, recovered many rights and dues which had for a time been wrested from the Church, and in some cases from the Crown itself. The proceedings of those memorable days were then submitted to the King, who at once approved of them, and required that they should be subsequently sanctioned by the General Council of the whole nation, thus securing for the verdict of the Schiregemot of Kent the endorsement of the Witenagemot of England.

Well did the Conqueror show on that day at least that however powerful or near to himself were the wrongdoers, he would carry out to the full the oath he had taken to administer true judgment and justice in his new kingdom.¹

To his honour, be it remembered, Lanfranc gave back, with open hand, to religious uses the wealth of which the Church had been robbed. On his own Cathedral, which he found in a dilapidated state from the recent conflagration, he expended a vast sum, as the part known as Lanfranc's Church to this day bears witness; while his munificence also extended to St. Alban's Abbey, over which he had placed his own kinsman and *commonachus* of Caen, Paul, as its first Norman Abbot.²

Thus ended the great trial which involved such momentous issues affecting the English Church and its rights. After this Penenden Heath relapsed into its normal state of quietude for at least a couple of centuries.

It was on this Heath, so tradition has it, in the year 1381, Wat Tyler found a rallying point for his Kentish malcontents, gathering here the nucleus of that formidable body of some 10,000 men with whom he for a time succeeded in endangering the peace of the City of London, and the very person of the feeble Richard II.

Here too, probably, was a similar scene enacted, on a smaller scale, when in 1450 Jack Cade, at the head of the self-styled "commons of England", gathered from the surrounding villages his "army", as Shakespeare contemptuously calls them, describing them as being

¹ Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, iv, p. 364.

² Matthew Paris (1644), p. 9.

“a ragged multitude
Of hinds and peasants, naked and merciless”,

with which he made his second advance on London, in the vain hope of extorting from the scarcely less feeble Henry VI a removal of the supposed grievances of an over-taxed country.

This inference is supported by the names which appear in the Patent Roll of those who were subsequently pardoned by the King. So many having come from Maidstone and the neighbouring villages, Hollingbourne, Bearsted, Thurnham, Boughton-Monchelsea, Barming, Aylesford, and Boxley itself, it is more than probable that Penenden Heath, the only open space suited for such a purpose, should have been the mustering-place for the contingents from these parts.¹

And here once more, a century later, did the chivalrous yet rash Sir Thomas Wyatt sound the tocsin of rebellion against Queen Mary's hateful Spanish alliance, only to forfeit his life, and for a time to rob his family of “the gray old Castle of Allington” and many a goodly manor besides.

Thus would it seem, in each of these cases, the insurgent bands of Kent found a “Lanrick Mead” at Penenden Heath.

¹ From Boxley there came, among the gentry, John Rowe; of yeomen, John Gouell, Henry Asshby, Roger Man, Robert Man, Thomas Gulley, John Clynton, John Pastron, John Welles, Richard Shymyng, Henry Dore, James Burbage, Robert Burbage, Richard Snelgorre, and many more; of masons, Richard Sebris, John Joce; and of husbandmen, Burbages, Farams, etc. (List of Pardons, given by W. D. Cooper, F.S.A., *Arch. Cant.*, vii, pp. 233-69.)

DISCOVERY
OF A
NEW AND IMPORTANT ROMAN ALTAR AT
BINCHESTER (THE ANCIENT VINOVA).

BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D.

SINCE the publication in the *Journal* of my last paper on recent discoveries at the important Roman station of Binchester, near Bishop's Auckland, a most interesting and important addition has been made to the sculptured stones unearthed there. The workmen of Mr. J. E. Newby, the courteous resident of Binchester Hall, have recently been engaged in laying water-pipes through the heart of the ancient city from a somewhat distant main. On the way, and when they were still at a considerable distance from the nearest rampart, they encountered a formidable obstacle in the shape of a mass of stone, which lay right in the path of their pipes. Their first thought was for a hammer to break it, but, fortunately, they gave up that project, and dug around it, with a view to lift it from its bed. This was a difficult matter, as it weighed about seven hundredweight. However, in time it was accomplished, the stone cleaned, and removed to Mr. Newby's garden. It proved to be an altar of magnificent proportions. Two views of it are given on the opposite page, from photographs by Mr. G. Taylor, of Bishops Auckland. Its dimensions are :—

Height, 4 ft. 3 in.; of central part, 1 ft. 11½ in.

Breadth, 1 ft. 2½ in.; of central part, 0 ft. 11½ in.

Depth, 1 ft. 0½ in.; of central part, 0 ft. 11½ in.

The altar is in excellent preservation. It appears to have sustained very little injury in ancient times. It was probably, therefore, lost at an early period. The picks of the workmen have marked it in a few places, but fortunately not upon the inscribed or sculptured portions, with the exception of one or more of the mouldings. On



LONDON & SIBBY.

ROMAN ALTAR RECENTLY FOUND AT BINCHESTER. —

BEAUFORT & SONS PHOTO-TINT

one side of the altar are represented the "Securis," or axe, and the "Culter", or knife; on the other side, the "Patera", or dish, and the "Præfericulum", or jug. There is a "focus", or bason-shaped hearth, at the top. The inscription is exceedingly interesting. It is perfectly legible. Every letter is distinct. There are no gaps nor ligatures. The stone of which the altar is composed is a very gritty freestone, full of fragments of quartz. Local judges say it must have come from Brusselton, a hill about four miles to the south, over which the Watling Street passes in its way to Vinovia from York. The letters of the inscription were evidently originally painted red. Very considerable remains of the colouring matter are in them still. The back of the altar is plain, so that it appears certain that it was intended to stand, when first erected, against the wall of a house, or of a temple. When discovered it was on its back, with the inscribed side uppermost. The base was only about 3 in. below the roots of the grass, the head about 18 in. lower.

The inscription upon the face of the altar is as follows :—

I O M
ET MATRIB
VS OLLOTO
TIS SIVE TRA
NSMARINIS
POMPONIVS
DONATVS
BENEFICIARIUS
CONSULIS
PRO SALUTE SUA
ET SUORVM
V S L A

Expanded, this reads :—

"Jovi Optimo Maximo, et Matribus Ollototis, sive Transmarinis, Pomponius Donatus, Beneficiarius Consulis, Pro Salute Sua et Suorum, Votum solvit libenti animo."

And translated into English it runs :—

"To Jupiter, the Best and Greatest, and to the Ollototian, or Transmarine, Mothers, Pomponius Donatus, a Beneficiary of the Consul, in gratitude for the safety of himself and those belonging to him, has paid his vow with a willing mind."

It will at once be remembered, by readers of the *Journal*, how many of the altars, recorded by earlier writers, as having been found at Vinovia, were dedicated to "Mothers." And it will be remembered that the altar found by Mr. Proud, and described in vol. xlv, p. 265, was dedicated also to the "Transmarine Mothers." Evidently, "Mother Goddesses" were favourite objects of worship at Vinovia. The great interest of the present inscription, however, centres in the epithet bestowed on the goddesses it commemorates. They are the "Ollototian Mothers." What can be signified by that term? At first one naturally thinks it must indicate the country, province, or city in which the worship of the goddesses was established, and from which the dedicator or his connections came. And one is reminded of Olot, a pleasure resort in North-Eastern Spain, not far from the French frontier, and the Mediterranean Sea, and the fact is recalled that the Vettonians, serving in garrison at Vinovia, were natives of the Peninsula. But the form of the Latin seems to point to a closer relationship between the words OLLOTOTIS and TRANSMARINIS, and one is led to inquire whether, possibly, the former may not be the Latinised equivalent of some Keltic expression signifying "Foreign". Now the Welsh language of the present day is the readiest guide to the Keltic of the southern part of Great Britain in Roman times; and it is singular that ALLOEDD OTHAU, (pronounced something like "Alloith-othai"), in Welsh to-day, would bear the very signification required, meaning, as it does, literally translated, "Others outside,"—that is, "The Other Mother Goddesses beyond the limits of this land."¹

If this be the true derivation of the name Pomponius Donatus assigned to his goddesses, and it looks as though it was, for the Romans would naturally drop the aspirates, and transform the final vowels into A E, in transferring the Keltic name to their own language, then the worship of these goddesses would seem to have

¹ *All*, *Alloedd*, adj., other. *Oth*, noun, what is exterior or extreme. From "A Dictionary of the Welsh Language, by W. Spurrell, Carmarthen, 1848." The same words, with similar meanings, are given by Dr. W. Richards, in his Welsh Dictionary.

been indigenous in the Vinovian district, and to have been—an interesting fact, if the conclusion be sound—a reminiscence of the time when the forefathers of the Brigantian race migrated from across the sea into the pleasant and fruitful Britannic land.

There are other interesting points connected with this name. It evidently solves the puzzle of Camden's altars. If the reader will turn back to vol. xlv, p. 255, he will find the first one, described by Camden, and also by Horsley, who gives a drawing of it as it appeared to him. Camden did not attempt to give every letter. After DEABVS MATRIB he gave only Q LO Horsley filled in the gaps, making the whole QLOTTIB, but about the last three letters he was very uncertain, for he suggested, in his interpretation of the inscription, that they signified FIL. Gale also saw the stone, and gave a reading of it. His presentment of it was, as far as the writer can make out, Q.LOTTIP. The finding of the present altar, however, disposes of all these guesses. It is clear that the word was OLOTOTIS. And the full inscription exhibits a remarkable parallelism, if the term may be employed, with the one just found, running thus, when expanded:—

“Deabus Matribus Olototis Claudius Quintianus Beneficiarius Consulis Votum Solvit Libens Meritis.”

With regard to Camden's second altar, the inscription upon it, as read by him, will be found in vol. xlv, p. 255. Sir Robert Sibbald's reading will also be found on the same page. From the latter it seems clear that the dedication of that altar, likewise, was similar,—

DEABVS MATRIBVS OLOTOTIS.

Unfortunately we are not in a position to restore the latter part of this inscription.¹

Besides the altar, very few other relics of importance

¹ The writer has the gratification of knowing that Dr. E. Hübner, of Berlin, the greatest living authority on Britanno-Roman Inscriptions, entirely agrees with him, in the conclusions stated above, regarding the inscriptions on Camden's altars. In a communication to the writer, dated Berlin, May 24th, 1891, Dr. Hübner says:—“I fully agree with your opinion that the same ‘Matres Ollototae’ as on the recent altar, were named also on the two other Binchester altars (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vii, 424 and 425; *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, Nos. 716 and 718).”

were found. Another of the remarkable bobbin-shaped objects, described in a former volume, was met with. Marks of wear, as by a cord passing over it, are visible beneath one of the flanges; and marks, as though caused by revolution round a spindle, are observable on the sides of the perforation. Mr. Newby has been led by these appearances to suggest that, possibly, these hitherto unintelligible objects may have been used in machinery, very much as somewhat similar objects, though made of metal, and of much larger size, are used now for the guidance of the steel ropes employed on mineral railways worked by stationary engines.

Another curious object found is a mass of earthenware, of a circular form, very thick in the middle, thin at the edges, of a flattened spherical form on one side, and of a protuberant shape on the other, about $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. Its use is difficult to divine, unless it were as a stopper for the mouth of a large jar, over which it might be fastened with lime, or with some other kind of cement.

A few more potters' stamps were found. Thus :— On a fragment of Samian ware, . . . CIONI. On an amphora handle, OP. BA. It is uncertain whether any more letters followed. On a fragment of a mortarium, MM. On another fragment of a mortarium, what appears to be, in a ligulate form, ANM.

If to the above be added a small leaf-shaped lamina of bronze, pierced with a large number of small holes, another large channelled stone, and another coin of Constantius I (middle bronze), of the "Reparatio" type, the list of notable finds on this occasion will be exhausted.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD JUNE 1891.

J. W. GROVER, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

THE progress of the arrangements for holding the Congress at York were detailed.

E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, rendered a Report of a recent visit which he had paid to the excavations now in progress at the North Wall of Chester, under the direction of the City Surveyor, the cost of which is being defrayed by a fund raised by W. Haverfield, Esq. A large number of Roman sculptured and inscribed stones have been already found built up as old material, although the lower portion of the walls is of Roman date later than that of the sculptures. The Report, which it is hoped will appear in the *Journal* in the form of a paper, was illustrated by numerous sketches of the objects found.

Jas. H. Macmichael, Esq., exhibited various articles found in excavations in London, among which was a curious jug of brown ware, with a pattern laid on in light slip, with the date 1648, found at Whitechapel, on the site of an old house recently demolished.

J. M. Wood, Esq., laid on the table a length of thick lead pipe welded, and not cast, of oval section; also another length of circular form, cast; both having been found at a depth of about 13 ft. from the surface, close to Sadler's Wells Theatre, evidently portions of the piping used in the earliest water-supply of the New River Company. He exhibited also an impression of the seal of Leighs Priory, Essex, and drawings of the well-known Saxon tower of Holy Trinity Church, Colchester. (See *Journal*, vol. iii, p. 19.)

R. Earle Way, Esq., exhibited a further instalment of antiquities derived, like so many others exhibited by him, from excavations at Southwark. These were of Roman date. On the rim of a well preserved *mortarium* is the inscription TVGENV. Found in one spot were many articles of a lady's toilette, including a silver bodkin and a turquoise blue bead, most probably of Egyptian make.

The following papers were then read :—

"The Antiquities of Crowland", by A. S. Canham, Esq. Read, in the author's absence, by S. Rayson, Esq.

"On Vessels of Samian Ware", by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.Scot. Mr. Cuming's paper was illustrated by a large number of drawings of the articles named.

"Penenden Heath", printed in the *Journal* (see pp. 260-67), by the Rev. J. Cave-Browne.

It is to be hoped that these papers will appear in future Parts of the *Journal*.





MEMORIAL SLAB OF WILLIAM DE WERMINGTON, MASTER MASON.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Croyland Abbey and Tower, and the Master Mason's Memorial Slab of circ. 1429 A.D.—The annexed sketch of the second Memorial Slab has been forwarded by the Rev. T. H. Le Bœuf, Rector of Croyland (otherwise Crowland), near Peterborough. The Memorial Slab was found during the work of restoration at the tower of Croyland Abbey, over the entrance to the north aisle, or portion used as the parish church of Crowland, and may have been placed there (being removed from its original site) during the repairs after the earthquake of 25th May 1671.

The first and second memorial slabs are both of about the same date, 1427. The first stone commemorates the memory of *John Tomson*, the donor of twenty marks to the tower fund; and the second, as the border-legend describes, is, "Here lieth the body of William of Warmington, the Master Mason. May God of His Gracious Mercy grant his soul absolution." (See Bohn's *Antiquarian Library, Ingulph's Chronicles*, pp. 361, 392, and 393, where may be found the names of John Tomson and William of Croyland.)

There is a third stone, of the same character, under the north pier of the Norman arch at the east end of the nave.

The second stone is of Barnack, being 6 ft. 1 in. in length, and 2 ft. 5 in. in width. The Rector has placed this stone in the belfry, and greatly regrets he has not sufficient funds in hand to place the first stone by its side. We trust some lover of antiquity may enable him speedily to do so.

It may interest some of our readers if we give a short description of the nature of the old foundations of Croyland Abbey tower as proved by the excavations during 1888-90:—1 ft. 6 in. of peat (oak piles, 5½ ft. in length were found driven through this peat-bed, and into the gravel); 1 ft. 4 in., Helpstone stone, laid dry (i.e., without mortar, and on their edge); 9 in. light stone quarry dust; 10 in. Helpstone stone, very small, laid on their bed; 1 ft. 1 in. light stone quarry dust; 11 in. Helpstone stone, very small, laid on their bed; 1 ft. 3 in. tower-base below present level; total depth, 7 ft. 8 in. from ground-level.

The peat-bed varies from 1 in. to 1 ft. 9 in. in thickness. Add to this defect the decay of the four different kinds of stone used (Castor, Barnack, Stamford, and Helpstone), and the "fillings", consisting of only small stones and *dry dust*, which quickly allowed a channel for the rainfall to be formed down to the very foundations. The walls

have also many "straight joints"; hence little power of resistance, and the cause of the many long "rents" in the tower walls. The Abbey tower is 2 ft. 1 in. out of the perpendicular. Is it not a mystery that the building has stood the storms of centuries, resting on so unstable a base?

The tower has been underpinned and made secure up to the height of 38 ft. The perpendicular lines are now fairly safe; but the horizontal ties are urgently needed. On these the steeple presses most injuriously; and the squinch-arches are decayed and broken; hence this portion may collapse at any moment.

Surely our readers will not permit this historic landmark in the Lincolnshire Fens to fall into utter ruin for the sake of £1,500. The Rector of Croyland has issued 8,300 letters and appeals, and raised only £1,573 : 12 : 5 out of the required sum of £3,000. He, therefore, urgently asks for immediate help, trusting those whom God has blessed with this world's wealth will no longer turn a deaf ear to this appeal. In A.D. 1429 it was stated of the then restoration of Croyland Abbey tower,—“Thus did the persons above named, and numerous other benefactors of our house, whose names may the ever-living Scribe in His Mercy deign to set down in the Book of Life, liberally pay immense sums of money for the benefit of the said Church.” Would that such might be written of the donors to the Croyland Abbey Tower Preservation Fund in A.D. 1891!

The Registers of the Cathedral Church of Rochester, 1657-1837, are shortly to be printed by subscription, in about 60 pages, imperial 8vo.; to which are added lists of the Prebendaries, Head Masters of the King's School, Minor Canons, and organists, and such of the inscriptions in the Cathedral and churchyard as are not included in Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*. The text is transcribed and edited by Thomas Shindler, M.A., LL.B., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law.

The Morgan Testimonial.—Mr. W. H. Cope, F.S.A., wishes to add to the list of subscribers the name of Mr. J. W. Previt , who subscribed 10s. 6d.; but his name was inadvertently omitted when the list was printed at p. 103.

1



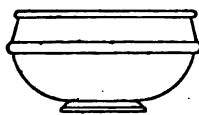
CALATHUS

2



PULTARIUS

3



CALIX

4



ACRATOPHORUM

5



GALEOLA

6



ACETABULUM

7



PAROPSIS

8



PATINA

9



PATINA

10



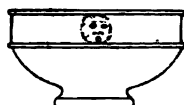
PATELLA

11



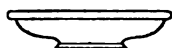
PATELLA

12



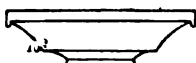
MORTARIUM

13



PATERA

14



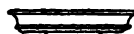
CALIX

15



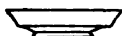
CALIX

16



CATINUS

17



CATILLUS

18



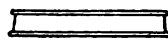
LANCULA

19



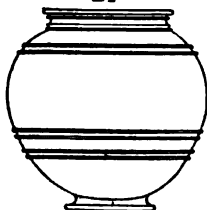
LANCULA

20



TYMPANUM

21



LEBES

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1891.

ON VESSELS OF SAMIAN WARE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

THOUGH countless records have been made of the finding of vessels of so-called Samian ware, and many theories have been advanced regarding their place of manufacture, few writers, with the exception of the late Dr. Samuel Birch,¹ F.S.A., have attempted to discover the names by which they were called in ancient times. True, we are frequently told of the exhumation of *acetabula* and *patera*; but these designations are far too often misapplied, not half the so-denominated *acetabula* being really vinegar-cups; and the title of *patera* is given to a group of utensils that are divisible into four or five distinct types. It is this confusion of names on the one hand, and the lack of names on the other, that has prompted me to carefully consider the matter, and attempt to formulate a terminology which will be at once consistent with the shape of the vessels, and in harmony with the names met with in the works of classic authors.

The so-called Samian ware was to the Romans what porcelain is to us moderns. It was the finest production of the potter's kiln that could be placed upon the festive board; and that it was highly prized by its owners is shown by the discovery of broken vessels united by leaden rivets.²

Some eighteen or nineteen distinct forms are recog-

¹ *History of Ancient Pottery*.

² For instances of riveted Samian ware, see *Journal*, v, 82; xlvii, 99.

nised in Samian ware, all of which were evidently designed for table-service, consisting as they do of wine-jugs, bowls and cups, vinegar-vessels, bowls or basins for soups, vegetables, and other viands, dishes of different shapes and sizes, and two or three other items more or less closely connected with banqueting.

We will begin our survey of Samian ware with one of its rarest forms, namely the *guttus*, a tall jug with swelling body, contracted neck with small mouth, and provided with a handle. A beautiful example of this rare vessel may be seen in the Guildhall Museum. It is of graceful contour, and displays on its sides that peculiar style of ornamentation which is believed to have been produced on the wheel in the same way that glass is cut. The *guttus* was used as an oil-cruze in the bath; but when of superior fabric, like the one here described, it was employed to hold wine at the sacrifice (Plin., xvi, 73) and at social gatherings. Horace (*Sat.* I, vi, 118) speaks of a *guttus* and *patera* of Campanian earthenware as part of the furniture of a supper-table.

Samian ware presents but few types of *pocula* or drinking cups, the most conspicuous and abundant being a goblet so precisely similar in form to the bushel seen on the head of Jupiter Serapis that we may without hesitation accept it as an example of the *calathus*, of which mention is made by Virgil (*Ecl.* v, 71) and Martial (*Ep.* ix, 60, 15; xiv, 107). The *calathi* are unadorned on their exteriors, and have frequently the name of the maker stamped across the bottom of the vessel, as, for instance, ALBINI . MA., ALBVCI . OF, BIINCEII, PRIVATI . M, VIRILIS, VMCI, etc. *Calathi* measure from $1\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, and from $3\frac{3}{4}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. across the top, and engravings of them will be seen in our *Journal*, iii, 250; iv, 4, fig. 6; xi, 338, fig. 5; xvi, 34; and in *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1806.

Samian ware *calathi* must have been almost as common on the *mensa* of the Romans as glass tumblers are on the modern dining-table; but the ancients occasionally used a *poculum*, the very reverse in form to the *calathus*, being contracted at the mouth, and gradually swelling out as it neared the base, in the manner of the bowls of our hock-glasses, and hence resembled, in some degree, an inverted funnel, and may, therefore, be the *pultarius*

or cup spoken of by Palladius (vi, 7, 2). Strictly speaking, the *pultarius* was a vessel for pulse or pottage, but Celsus (ii, 11) mentions its employment as a "cupping-glass", and Pliny (vii, 54) and Petronius (*Sat.* 42, 2) as a drinking-goblet. The few examples of Samian ware cups of the type here described, which have been met with in London, are about 3 in. in height, and unornamented; but I have the lower part of one of less dimensions, which has its outer surface covered with a rich pattern composed of scrolls and tendrils. A plain but perfect example of the presumed *pultarius* is shown in our *Journal*, iv, 4, fig. 3.

Of less frequent occurrence than the *calathus* is the *calix*, a wine-cup of Grecian origin, which found its way to the Roman table at an early period. It is a little, shallow bowl with its mouth more or less contracted, and surrounded by a band of the so-called engine-turned pattern, below which is a slightly projecting rim which enabled the drinker to raise the goblet to his lips without fear of its slipping from his hand; supplying, in fact, the place of the handles which project from the sides of the Grecian *calices*. The Samian ware *calices* measure from 1 to 2 in. in height, and from 3 to 4 in. in diameter at the mouth. They never seem to have been adorned with embossed devices, but have frequently the name of the potter impressed on the inner surface of the bottom of the vessel. Among others we find OF MODE, MAROILLI, SALV, etc. The *calix* is exhibited in our *Journal*, iv, 4, fig. 7, 16, and it may be remarked that it resembles in a certain degree the old German mead-cup of glass, and some of the little wooden bowls in which spiced wine was wont to be served on the City barges on Lord Mayor's Day.

The *acratophorum*, *galeola*, and *lepasta*, were vessels of considerable size, in which the pure or unmixed wine was placed upon the table, and from which the cups of the guests were supplied by aid of the *simpulum* and *cyathus*. *Acratophorum*, though a Greek term, was accepted by the Romans at an early period, and mention is made of the vessel by Terentius Varro (*R. R.*, i, 8, 5) and Cicero (*De Finibus*, iii, 4) among the older classics, and by Pol-lux (vi, 99) at a later era. We have no direct evidence

as to its form, but there occurs among the larger Samian vessels some with perpendicular sides, from which the wine could be conveniently dipped with the ladle. Vessels of this type vary from 2 to 9 in. in height, and are generally wider than they are deep. The smaller examples may have been employed, like the *calathus*, *calix*, and *pultarius*, as drinking-cups. These vessels are frequently decorated with mythological and sporting subjects intermingled with vine-leaves. One of their makers, Cinna-mus, stamped his name on the exterior surface of his work. I have a large piece of an *acratophorum* bearing the impress CINNAMI, and the same occurs on a fragment of Samian ware given in our *Journal*, xlv, 282. The form of the vessel may be seen in our *Journal*, iv, 5, and in the *Archæologia*, viii, Pl. xi, p. 130.

The *galeola*, as its name clearly indicates, was of the shape of the *galeus* or helmet; and Samian bowls which may fairly be likened to the *galeæ* worn by the common soldiers on the column of Trajan and other ancient monuments are very abundant both in England and the Continent. These bowls vary from 3 to 6 in. in height, and from 7 to 10 in. in diameter; and the decorations on their sides are of great variety, embracing fanciful devices, combats of gladiators, mythological personages, and lewd scenes such as are denounced by Pliny, xiv, 28; xxxiii, 2. The *galeola* is mentioned by Varro, *De Vit. Pop. Rom.*, ap Non., p. 547; Interp. Vet. ad Virg., *Ecl.* vii, 33; and examples are engraved in Beger's *Thesauri Regis et Electoralis Brandenburgici*, vol. iii, 387; Douglas' *Nenia Britannica*, Pl. xxx; and in our *Journal*, i, 313; iii, 176, 178; iv, 3.

The *salinum* or salt-cellar, and the *acetabulum* or vinegar cup, were important items on the Roman *mensa escaria* or dining-table. Up to this time, however, I have never met with a *salinum* of Samian ware, though I have frequently been shown vessels miscalled salt-cellars. The Roman cup for salt was either made of or represented a shell, if reliance is to be placed on Horace (*Sat.* i, 3, 14).

The *acetabulum* was chiefly employed to dip the bread in before eating it, and examples of the vessel, more or less perfect, have frequently been unearthed in London and elsewhere. It may be described as a little bowl rest-

ing on a low, annular base, and with a suddenly expanded mouth with an interior ridge, as if for the support of a lid, but nothing like an *operculum* has yet been found to suit the vessel in question. *Acetabula* measure from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to full 2 in. in height, and their mouths are at times $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. They are never decorated with devices like the *paropsis*, *acratophorum*, and *galeola*, and have in general the name of the maker stamped on their bottoms. Among others mention may be made of ABIANI, OF APRI, OF BASSI, CELSI . O, OF FEIC, OF FRON, IANVARI, OF MAN, OF NI, PASSIE, SECVND M, and VIIRI. An *acetabulum* is engraved in our *Journal*, iv, 4, fig. 2, and another is given in *The Gent. Mag.*, July 1832, p. 17, which bears the stamp OF . MOI.

Paropsis or *parapsis*, a term adopted by the Romans from the Greeks, was the designation of a vessel in which the choicer viands were served to table. From a passage in Alciphron (*Epist.* iii, 20) it would appear to have been a deep bowl with a wide mouth, and must in form have borne resemblance to the *acetabulum*, as both names are given to the cup employed by the thimble-riggers; and that it was of red ware is evident from Martial's *Epigram* to Flaccus (xi, 27), wherein he speaks of the *paropsis rubra*. The name *paropsis* may with propriety be given to a type of Samian ware somewhat like a bowl with expanded mouth, measuring from 4 to 10 in. in diameter, with the sides contracting in belts or stages until they rest on a low, annular base. Such vessels are of very superior fabric, the outer convex surface of the mouth being generally decorated with fine perpendicular lines, which have been compared to the engine-turning on watch-cases, and the sides embellished with graceful scrolls and tendrils bearing vine and ivy-leaves. Animal forms are seldom introduced, but when they do appear they are rabbits pursued by dogs. The potters' stamps on *paropsides* give us, among other names, those of OF MVR-RANI, RVFINI, and VITAL. Examples of *paropsides* are engraved in the *Catalogue* of the Museum of Practical Geology, pp. 61, 62.

The *patina* and its little relative the *patella* are both found in Samian ware. They are bowls or basins of different capacities, and though preserving the same general

form differ considerably in detail. A few *patinæ* have a wire-edge to the rim; but they more commonly have a rim sometimes only a short distance below the edge of the vessel, and of slight projection; at others it is broad, and springs an inch or so below the edge, and turns downward so as to form a convenient means of lifting the vessel. The *patina* measures from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, and from 3 to 4 in. in height; and the glaze on the interior bottom of those having the depressed rim is not unfrequently rubbed off, as if something had been ground thereon, or food had been stirred about with the *rudicula*, or wooden spoon or mull; hence they have been called by some *mortaria*. The broad-rimmed *patinæ* sometimes bear the name *PATERCLOS*; as, for instance, the example given in our *Journal*, iv, p. 4, fig. 1.

The broad rim of the *patella* generally springs from the edge of the cup, and is found both flat and depressed, and decorated with ivy-leaves. Some of the *patellæ* are barely 2 in. high, and between 4 and 5 in. in diameter, and seem to gradually merge into *pateræ*. For examples of *patella*, see Douglas' *Nenia Britannica*, Pl. xxx, fig. 7, and our *Journal*, iii, 250; iv, 4, fig. 13; v, 390. A rimless *patella* with the mark SA:AP+ is engraved in *The Gent. Mag.*, May 1833, p. 401, fig. 15.

The mention of *patinæ* with abraded surface leads us on to the Samian ware *mortaria*, of which there are two distinct varieties; both, however, being bowl-shaped, and standing on low feet. One kind is of stout fabric, with the interior, up to a certain height, lined as it were with small angular bits of hard stone, which were pressed into the paste whilst in a plastic state, and before it was glazed; the object being to resist by this means, as far as possible, the action of the *pistillum* or muller employed in grinding, kneading, or mixing ingredients together. The bowl of this type of mortar is surmounted by a broad, straight-sided band, from which projects a lion-mask; the mouth pierced as a spout, through which the fluid could be poured off from the vessel. A *mortarium* of this fashion is engraved in Lee's work on discoveries at Caerleon, and another is given in the *Catalogue* of the Museum of Practical Geology (p. 66), which has the potter's name, VLIGGI, stamped near the spout.

Mortaria of this type have been met with measuring 5 in. in height, and 12 in. in diameter, and one fragment of a *mortarium* I possess is nearly three-eighths of an inch in thickness. It may be added that some *mortaria* have broad grooves running round their exterior surfaces in a similar fashion to those on the vessel given in our *Journal*, iii, 8.

The second variety of *mortaria* is of much more delicate fabric than the above, and bears a close relationship in form to the *patella*, having a broad rim projecting from the edge of the vessel; on one side of which is a spout formed by two walls of paste, the channel being so shallow that it can have been of little service in pouring off whatever may have been placed in the vessel. These delicate *mortaria* are of rarer occurrence than their robust namesakes, but a nearly perfect example is in the Guildhall Museum, and I possess fragments which were exhumed in London, one having a rim 1 in. wide.

A very rare type of *mortarium* (?) with deep, depressed rim is given in our *Journal*, iv, p. 13.

The Roman potters furnished the banquet-table with several kinds of *disci*, or dishes, of Samian ware, which have hitherto been carelessly grouped together under the misnomer of *patera*. This group may be safely divided into *patera*, *calices*, *catini*, *catilli*, and *lanculae*. The *patera*, or *phiala* as it was termed at times, is a saucer-shaped vessel with a broad, convex rim, decorated with ivy-leaves in low relief, and frequently exhibiting on the bottom the impress of the maker. Among other names we find that of *VRSVLVS*. The *patera* vary from 1½ to 2 in. in height, and from 6 to 8 in. in diameter. It is obvious that vessels of this description would be most inconvenient to drink from, though they would serve well to pour the wine over the head of the victim, or on the altar at the religious rites. But we may fairly presume that the Samian *patera* were frequently employed by the Romans as dishes for fruit and other choice matters.

The *calix* as a drinking goblet has already been described, and we have now to consider it as a dish in which soups and vegetables were served at table, as recorded by Varro (*L. L.*, v, 127) and Ovid (*Fast.*, v, 509). It is of far rarer occurrence than the *patera*, and bears a cer-

tain resemblance to the *calathus*, but more elegant in outline, and of much broader proportion. The few examples I have seen measure about 2 in. in height, and 5 in. in diameter at top, and some have a kind of rosette stamped on the inner surface of the bottom. An elegant example of the deeper variety of *calix* is given in this *Journal*, iv, 4, fig. 5.

The *catinus* or *catinum* is less saucer-shaped than either the *patera* or *lancula*, and of much larger dimensions, measuring at times upwards of 10 in. in diameter, and full $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height. Some of the finer examples have the sides reeded, as, for instance, those bearing in their centres the stamps OF. MODESTI and OF. VITALI, surrounded by a broad circle of neat, engine-turned pattern, which may be likened to a rayed glory. A *catinus* is engraved in our *Journal*, iv, 4, fig. 11.

The *catillus* and *catinus* were first cousins. Some of the *catilli* are precisely like the fine *catini* in form and fabric; others are more pan-shaped, with sloping sides and wire edges, with their bottoms rising into very obtuse points, across which the potters have placed their stamps, among which we find CATVLII, CERIALIS. F, MASCVLVS. F, OF. PONTI, PVPEN, SILDATIANI. M, and SVLPICI. For examples of *catilli*, see *Journal*, ii, 74; xvi, 34.

The *lancula* may be recognised by its resemblance to the scale of a balance, and by its smaller dimension than the *lanx*, which was at times of a sufficient size to contain a boar, as Horace tells us (*Sat.* ii, 4, 41). Some *lanculae* are full $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, and 7 in. in diameter. The sides rise with rather greater abruptness than those of the *patera*, and generally have a wire edge. They rest, like most of the Samian ware vessels, on an annular base, and are devoid of decoration, but frequently display the stamp of the maker. Among others we find that of PONTEI.

In the Museum of Practical Geology is a rare type of Samian ware vessel which may be regarded as either a large *lancula* or small *lanx*. It is 9 in. in diameter, and is stamped on the interior with the potter's name, TITVS. A woodcut of this dish is given in the *Catalogue* of the collection, p. 65, fig. 32.

It may be worth notice that a *lancula* and *acetabulum* are commonly found together in Roman interments.

With Samian ware dishes may be placed the *tympanum*, so called from its resemblance in form to the tambourine, being a shallow salver or pan with upright sides. The *tympana* range from 1 in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in height, and from 4 to 5 in. in diameter. They are undecorated, but of the neatest fabric, and highly glazed, and so rare that few cabinets can show even a fragment of a single specimen. I have a portion of one which was found in Lombard Street in 1864, and two examples are engraved in our *Journal*, iv, 4, figs. 9 and 10.

We now come to a Samian ware vessel differing entirely in form and purpose from any previously described. This is the *lebes*, which was employed to catch the purifying water as it was poured by an attendant over the hands before and after meals, as we are informed by Homer (*Od.*, i, 137; xix, 386) was the practice among the Greeks, and by Virgil (*Æn.*, iii, 466) among the Romans. The *lebes* was frequently given as a prize at games, as Virgil (*Æn.*, v, 266) tells us, and hence is represented on coins with palm-branches (the emblem of victory) placed in it, and the *gutturium*, or water-jug, standing by its side. This vessel may be likened to a *dolium*, being of globose shape, with a lip round the mouth, and resting on a low base. A *lebes* was exhumed in Cornhill, and is engraved in the *Catalogue* of the Roach Smith Collection, p. 29. It is encircled by a broad belt with male and female figures, divided by graceful foliage, and bordered above and below with bands filled with vine-branches and grapes mingled with rabbits and birds. Vessels of this description are of exquisite rarity, and display a high degree of art and care in manufacture and design.

We have now taken a critical survey of the chief, if not all, the various forms of vessels which occur in the so-called Samian ware; and if this humble attempt at classification and nomenclature present, in a few instances, some slight difficulty, I believe that in the main there is sufficient evidence to establish the correctness of the views here set forth.

NOTES ON THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF CROWLAND.

BY A. S. CANHAM, ESQ.

(*Read June 1891.*)

ALTHOUGH enshrouded in the mysteries of past ages, the history of the Fens is fragrant with the aroma of romantic suggestiveness. Flood and forest, marsh and fertile ground, have each had their entrances and exits, and some of them have repeated their parts. At the close of the glacial age, when the throbbing pulse of nature heaved the vast estuary now called the Fens beyond the embraces of the ever-beating waves, then commenced the formation of the alluvial deposits that form so large a part of the east coast of England.

Orthodox geological opinion places the drift or gravel immediately above the boulder-clay; but in one portion of the Fens at least this is not correct, for beneath the gravel at Crowland there exists a well-preserved peat-bed containing the remains of a noble forest of well-nigh tropical luxuriance. History is silent and conjecture dumb in the presence of the change from the arctic rigour of the age when the hundreds of feet of boulder-clay, ground by glaciers and icebergs from distant rocks, was deposited in the vast bay, to the temperate climate in which flourished a flora rich in the most highly organised forms of vegetable life. Another interruption is made in the order of events by a tidal wave breaking again over the district, and for long years following it was swept by the tide. At this period were deposited the marsh-silt, the blue buttery-clay, and the beach-gravel.

As the estuary again silted up, a system of rivers flowed through it in beds varying from the present water-courses. The levels of the district were now again favourable to vegetation, and contemporaneous with the upper forest and its accompanying peat we have indisputable evidence that the region was inhabited. Very little definite knowledge of its inhabitants exists; but the exhum-

ation of remains from tumuli at Crowland furnishes reliable data as to the period of their occupation and the condition of their lives. The late Canon Moore, in one of his most interesting papers on the history of Crowland, makes definite statements as to the pre-monastic inhabitants, and found evidence in existing names of a direct lineage with that time. Toley and Iceling he associates with the Tooleys and Hicklings of the day. The resemblance was certainly striking; and when the idea was promulgated, the evidence in its favour appeared strong; but in the few years that have intervened both names have nearly disappeared from the Crowland Register. Speculation and induction are valuable and often indispensable elements of argument, but we now possess facts of clear and unmistakable import. Tradition has long associated the Romans with Fen history, and the Cardyke and sea-bank remain veritable witnesses of their presence. Deeping Fen has yielded numerous querns, the hand-mills of her soldiers, whilst pottery and coins have been found in various parts; and to complete the chain of evidence, the before mentioned tumuli contained an abundance of the rude, unpolished flint implements of the Ancient Briton,—Cæsar's noble savage, that he describes as brave and daring, nearly naked, with body dyed with woad, living in huts, and supporting himself, in a great measure, by the chase.

Although in Cornwall and some other places commerce had effected an advance in civilisation, it is no stretch of fancy to conceive tribes of Britons seeking safety in the natural fastnesses of the Fens, where the heavily armed legions of Rome could not follow them. At that time the site of Crowland was, comparatively speaking, an island about 300 acres in extent, having a substratum of gravel, with a narrow isthmus joining it with the uplands at Peakirk. This was narrow, and ran between the forests of Deeping and what is now Newborough Fen; and with the prospect of ambushades by fierce natives, the invaders would undoubtedly be in no hurry to court disaster. Across this island, on which the town of Crowland has been since built, a series of earth-mounds were formed at such distance from each other as made the defence of the position very strong.

Felix, the monk, in his history of St. Guthlac, says that the hermit fixed his abode in or on the side of a mound that had been broken open by treasure-seekers, on one side of which was a well. It seems strange that Stukely and others, who made special study of this subject, did not follow up this clue; for beneath the surface, up to a recent date, were relics of the past, including the veritable well, as may be seen by reference to a plan of the foundations of Turketyl's seminary, published in Mr. W. de Gray Birch's *Memorials of St. Guthlac*, also in Canon Moore's pamphlet on *Crowland Abbey and Bridge*. The plan, with the well, had been made by me from actual surveys several years before I learned of the said well's existence in Goodwin's translation from the Saxon Life of Guthlac by Felix.

This mound was the most easternmost, and the series extended from Anchorage Hill to the south-west for about a mile. Peacock Barn, the Abbey, the Mill Hill, the tumuli excavated in the Steam Mill lot, and another in the Wash, which was partly cut away in making the New River, mark the line; and to complete the defence, and guard against an attack from the north, there were others on the Bank House Brewery estate, which were destroyed about thirty years since, when a great deal of gravel was taken therefrom. Rumours of urns and pottery of various kinds having been discovered were prevalent at the time, but nothing of importance has been preserved.

In the year 1880 the heavy top soil, to the depth of about 2 ft., was taken from the Steam Mill Lot, and it was whilst this was proceeding that the tumulus was completely examined. It was about 60 ft. across, and would not be much above 3 ft. high in the centre. It was surrounded by a ditch in which was preserved an abundance of rude pottery of native manufacture; and near the sides of the mound were several cinerary urns or vases, including some very good specimens of lathe-turned Roman ware. One of the urns was intact. It was formed of the native gaulty clay, baked rather than burned. It was about 10 in. across, and 8 in. high, and was capped or sealed with clay, and contained burnt human bones and ashes. Just as they were originally deposited, layers

of ashes occurred in the mound, of a sacrificial nature; and it is not improbable that the cremated materials represented some British chief, Druid, or priest; and the Roman urns intermingled with unpolished flint weapons prove that the rudest savagery and the highest civilisation were here in contact. Probably the Roman pottery was either the spoil of marauding expeditions or the result of barter. The flint implements consisted of spear and arrow-heads, borers, scrapers, knappers, rubbing stones, a bone seal, a bronze celt, an iron hammer-head, and light-strikers, and other objects. They were, to all appearance, of local make, as great quantities of chippings were found in the bottom of a shallow hole near to the tumulus. Discovered as they were in connection with the remains of a high state of civilisation, with which they were contemporaneous, their palæolithic character is somewhat singular. They bore no marks of polish, and only a very few of them had been partially rubbed down to shape. Assuming that the period of their fabrication would be during the time of the Roman occupation, we have a clue to the subsequent order of events during Saxon and Danish times.

I find that recently Mr. Beloe, in a lecture delivered at Lynn, claimed the honour of the construction of the sea-bank on part of the Norfolk coast for the seven towns of Marshland. If those seven towns were in existence two thousand years ago, when a great part of Marshland would be a dreary swamp, it would be interesting to know something of their history.

Proceeding on the assumption that the sea-bank was constructed by the Romans as part of a well-devised scheme of reclamation, it is fair to suppose that the top forest growth followed on improved drainage, and that for from two to four hundred years the district was inhabited by colonies of Romans as well as tribes of the ancient inhabitants.

The nature of the superincumbent soil tells forcibly the story of the Fens during the interregnum between the departure of the Romans and the Norman Conquest. A bed of gault, containing fresh and salt-water shells, rests above the top forest and peat, which proclaims the fact that the sea again had full sweep over the district;

consequently it would become depopulated, and remained so for hundreds of years.

History is silent, or nearly so, until the close of the seventh century, when the monkish historian Felix tells us that Guthlac, a young man who, tired of the life of a soldier, and fired with religious zeal, sought and found solitude on a small island in the Fens. The naturalness of the description given of the events gives it an air of credibility. Guthlac, intent on the life of a recluse, obtains information of a boatman named Tatwin, is rowed to the island of Crowland, and makes his cell on one of the old tumuli. This is the hillock which the historian states "had been broken open by treasure-seekers"; most likely some marauding Saxons, who understood the nature of the mounds, seeking articles of value amongst the ashes of a past race, had found the spot and desecrated it. From the year 673 there is an intelligible history of Crowland and the surrounding district.

I will now briefly sketch the history of the Abbey from its germ-like birth in Ethelbald's promise to Guthlac, through its fiery ordeals and splendid influences, until we arrive at its present ruins reverent with age, and beautiful in decay.

Guthlac's cell was probably framed with alder-boughs and covered with turf, and of just sufficient size to afford him shelter. The legends that surround his life are part of the current thought of the age. Without the miraculous the history itself would be either a miracle or fiction. Malarial fever and religious enthusiasm might easily produce similar effects to those set down by his historian. The great feature of his life is that by and through his influence a religious house was founded at Crowland that has endured for twelve hundred years.

Amongst the illustrious visitors to Guthlac was Ethelbald, heir presumptive to the English throne. At the time of his visit he was a hunted outlaw hiding from the strong hand of law. His fortunes were under a cloud; yet the anchorite assured him of future success, in return for which the Prince vowed that as soon as he should come to the throne he would build a church at Crowland to the glory of God and in honour of his friend Guthlac.

In the year 716, the hermit having gone to his rest,

and Ethelbald having ascended the throne, the monarch prepared to fulfil his promise by appointing an abbot, granting him by royal charter the whole island of Crowland, and building and endowing a church.

Several modern critics have ridiculed the account given of the said church and its foundations. It was to be built on piles driven into the earth, and covered with heavy earth from the uplands. We are told that no necessity existed for piles or heavy earth, as the substratum was a bed of gravel, and that in reality the whole account was a fable. What will these Solons think when they are told that the very oldest foundations of the present Abbey are piled exactly as described, and above them is a thick layer of coar or rubble from stone quarries? At this period the peat-bed being super-saturated would be of much greater thickness than it is now, and the only way of securing stability was by the process set forth. As to the size and general architectural features of the building, history is silent. Most likely the church would be of stone, and the offices of wood. Their extent would not be large, yet sufficiently roomy for the requirements of the time.

The celebrity of the anchorite Saint soon drew other recluses to the district, who each had his separate abode. Gradually a Benedictine brotherhood was formed. Reported miracles were wrought at the shrine of the patron Saint, and wealth and influence gathered round it. Amongst royal visitors to the shrine was Wichtlaf, a Saxon monarch, who amongst other things bequeathed to the house his drinking-horn, which Longfellow has celebrated in a song rich in quiet yet cutting sarcasm.

About the year 850, King Bertulph, the successor of Wichtlaf, robbed the place of all the jewels and valuables which had been bestowed upon it by his predecessors. To complete the disasters, in the year 870, after a great battle at Threkingham, in which three kings were slain, the Danes murdered the abbot, robbed the treasury, and burned the Abbey. It is stated that a monument commemorating this event is preserved in Peterborough Cathedral.

For near upon a hundred years the fortunes of Crowland were under a cloud. After the fire a few monks

gathered at the ruins put sufficient of them in order to give them shelter, and led a very hard life until, in 946, Turketyl, Chancellor of King Edred, forsook the court and retired to the cloister. A full account may be found in Ingulph's *Chronicle* of Turketyl's encounter with the aged and distressed custodians of St. Guthlac's shrine, his sympathy with them, his final acceptance of the abbacy, with the rebuilding of the Abbey, the founding of the seminary in Anchorage Field, with particulars of his legislation for the guidance of the Monastery. There is reason to believe his itinerant, lecturing monks laid the foundation of Cambridge University. It was during his rule that the stone boundary-crosses were chiefly erected.

A great diversity of opinion exists as to the style and extent of Turketyl's Abbey; some asserting it was insignificant, while others give it magnificent proportions. Lack of skilled workmen is given as a reason for a poor building, whilst it is clearly shown on the other side that long before the Conquest continental architects and masons were rearing churches in England with heavy columns and semicircular arches. History is very brief here where we most desire information. All that is stated is that "in a short time the church and cloister, with every building, was completed."

A statement exists that the Abbey Church of Ramsey, which was built about this time, had two towers raised above the roof; one of them was at the west end of the church, the other was supported on four pillars in the centre of the building, where it divided into four parts, being connected together by arches which extend to other adjoining arches, to keep them from giving way. Hence it is inferred that the building was in the form of a cross, with side-aisles and two towers; one on the west front, the other at the intersection of the cross. Crowland Abbey was built shortly before the one at Ramsey, and most likely was the earliest church in England built with cross aisles.

Turketyl had been much abroad, and was undoubtedly the most influential ecclesiastic of his time, and with great wealth at command it is not probable that he would have been satisfied with an inferior building. The influence of the Romans on the style of architecture had not

been lost. The Rev. Mr. Bentham, who made this period of church-building a special study, inclined to the belief that not any of our monasteries had cross-aisles, towers, or steeples, before 974. If Romsey Abbey was built in the manner described by its historian, there is strong presumptive evidence that the Monastery at Crowland had given the plan.

When Turketyl died, it is said that he left £10,000 in the treasury. During his abbacy Crowland was well nigh the centre of the religious activities of the age. Such wealth and influence could not have been contented with anything short of architectural supremacy. It is a debatable point whether any portion of this Abbey now remains. The late Sir Gilbert Scott thought not; but there are others who claim the fine columns and arch at the east end of the nave as a portion of Turketyl's church. The noble proportions of the columns and classic mouldings of the capitals contrast strongly with the low and massive style of Norman architecture. Certainly the zigzag and cable and billet-moulding have a Norman character, but this may be accounted for on the supposition that foreign workmen were engaged on the work.

Although we have but the existence of one bell here recorded at this time, in 954, Egelric the younger then being Abbot, six bells of various sizes were hung, which it is said were not equalled for quality and tone in all England. The existence of this peal of bells presupposes a bell-tower, which might have been formed of wood, above the before-mentioned arches, at the intersection of the cross. One thing is certain, the east end columns are overbuilt by two styles of pure Norman work, and it is hard to conceive that three times over did the conquerors restore this church during their brief period.

To strengthen this argument we have the ground-plan of Turketyl's seminary, which is cruciform. Portions of this building were seen by Stukeley in 1720. The Monastery was not completed during Turketyl's life, and his successor, Egelric, who had been steward of the house for a long time, set to work to finish the design. It is stated that he built an infirmary, bath, and chapel, of wood, in consequence of the foundations not being able to bear a building of stone. He also built of wood a granary, bake-

house, and brewhouse, on the west front, and shut out the Abbey from the town, as the south was closed by the strangers' hall and chambers, and the east by the shoemaker's shop, hall of new comers, abbot's kitchen, chamber, and chapel, and the cloisters. The north was enclosed by the great gate, and almonry to the east. All these, except the abbot's hall, chamber, and chapel, joining the cloister which Turketyl had built of stone, were of wood, and covered with lead. This description of the Monastery sets forth clearly its character and extent, and also prepares us for the need of the constant repairs and renewals that followed in rapid succession, and the liability of the whole to destruction by fire.

As an incidental fact in the history of the Monastery it may be noted that in 1052 Egelric, a monk of Burgh, who had acquired wealth as Bishop of Durham, and returned to his native place, caused to be constructed the causeway called Elrichrode, from Deeping to Spalding, by Crowland.

In 1061 Wulketyl, who was then Abbot, began to build a new church. Undoubtedly this rebuilding related to the restoring the fragile wooden edifices erected since Turketyl's death, with some probable extension of the stone building. In less than one hundred years we have recorded a series of rebuildings which it is hard to conceive necessary on any other assumption than that they refer to temporary accommodation required by the increasing number of monks.

Ingulphus, whose history of Crowland has been so severely criticised, in his description of the fire that occurred during his abbacy, confirms the details of plan given by his predecessors. Most likely when Ingulphus entered on his abbacy, in 1076, the church built by Turketyl was in existence, and surrounding it was an extensive series of frail conventual offices such as we have described as having been built by Egelric and Wulketyl. Time forbids us entering into the life and works of Ingulph further than to state that although anachronisms and interpolations exist in his *Chronicles of Crowland*, yet those who have had best opportunities of comparing his statements with facts are most strongly impressed with his general veracity. This Abbot describes the

conflagration which occurred in his time as follows:—
“He was aroused from sleep by the shouts of the people, and in his nightdress hastened to a window from which he saw, as plain as midday, the servants of the Monastery running from every quarter to the church. He awoke his companions, and hastened to the cloisters which were lighted up by the fire as if a thousand lamps were burning. He was prevented entering the church by the melted metal from the bells and lead-covering which came teeming down near the door. He then, by looking in at a window, found the flames prevailing everywhere. In passing to the dormitory he had his shoulder scalded by the molten lead, and would have been roasted but for jumping into the enclosure of the cloisters. Whilst here he perceived that the tower was on fire, and that it had communicated with the nave, and only by great exertion he awoke the monks in the dormitory in time for them to escape. Many of the brethren were badly injured by falling as they leaped out of the windows. The fire spread to the chapter-house and refectory, and on to the ambulatory and infirmary. An attempt was made to gain an entrance to secure clothing for the monks, who had rushed out almost naked, but it was found impossible. Even the green trees that were contiguous caught fire. The tower fell toward the south. The crash so stunned the Abbot that he was carried to the porter’s lodge, where he lay in a state of insensibility until the morning. After recovering he gathered the destitute brethren, and held divine service in a room that was left standing.”

Further on it is stated that the muniment-room, although roofed with stone, had become so intensely heated that most of their original charters were destroyed. At once there was a great display of liberality, and the work of restoration was speedily commenced, and regular services again instituted. The restoration consisted of a new nave, which it is said was erected under the roof of the former church. This leads to the conjecture that the columns or pillars injured by the fire were replaced by new ones. A solitary column near the east end of the nave remains as a silent witness to the same or a similar proceeding. In place of the ancient tower a

belfry was built in which were hung two bells, the gift of Fergus, a coppersmith, of Boston.

The destruction of the Abbey by this fire could not have been so complete as it appears, for with the limited efforts of restoration accomplished by Ingulphus it continued serviceable until Joffrid obtained the abbacy in 1109. This prelate began what may appropriately be called the third Abbey; and unless the great west arch of the central tower may be considered a treasured relic of the celebrated church built by Turketyl, he reconstructed the entire Monastery.

Joffrid was a most remarkable personage. Full of zeal himself, he infused his spirit into those who came in contact with him. He, after fully instructing his monks, sent them into all parts, even far over the seas, preaching and lecturing, to excite sympathy in his object of re-erecting a church worthy to contain St. Guthlac's shrine. The result of these appeals was an immense sum that enabled him to outshine all that had gone before. Probably the whole range of history does not contain a more imposing description of the laying of foundation-stones than we have in this instance. Lords and ladies, knights and ecclesiastics of great distinction took part in the event, and their gifts were munificent in the extreme.

The ground-plan of this church is clearly set out in the description of the position of the various columns; but little information is given of the details of the building. It is stated that the work was carried out by Arnold, a lay monk, but a most skilful mason. In the year 1118 an earthquake occurred whilst the building was in progress. In consequence of the roof not being then on, to bind it together, the south wall of the body of the church split asunder, and it was only by great exertions of the builders in binding it together by transverse timbers that it was saved from ruin. It is conjectured by some authorities that the lofty Norman pillar set in the south arcade of the nave, near the central tower, was then built to support the roof.

One thing appears certain, that Joffrid's Abbey, which was commenced with such glorification, either through defective workmanship or damage by this earthquake, had not a long existence. All that we can be certain

of, provided it is not part of Turketyl's building, is the east end of the nave, part of the west front of the south aisle, and a portion of the octagonal towers of the west front of the nave, and a doorway into the north aisle, lately laid bare by the present Rector.

In 1170, Abbot Edward then ruling the house, it was again partially consumed by fire, after which it was by him restored. Most probably the choir on which Joffrid had bestowed so much care and skill was preserved, and the nave rebuilt in a more imposing and lofty style. This work of restoration was completed by Robert de Redinges. About the end of the twelfth century this rebuilding was again completed. The commencement of the thirteenth century was marked by the introduction of Gothic architecture. Westminster Abbey, Peterborough and Salisbury Cathedrals, were then in progress in the Pointed style: at which time, most probably, Abbot Longchamp, not wishing his house to be behind these in architectural beauty, built a new west front; all of which that now remains is the doorway into the nave, in the spandrels of the arch of which is the well known carved legend of the life of St. Guthlac. The next Abbot, Ralph Merske, proceeded with the work begun by his predecessor, including a tower beyond the choir; and Richard of Crowland, between the years 1281 and 1303, went on with the alterations. After this the history is silent as to the building until the abbacy of Thomas Overton, who gave four new bells, and built a new bell-tower at the east end of the Abbey, besides improving the offices of the house.

In the time of Richard Upton, who commenced his abbacy in 1417, a complete remodeling of the Abbey was carried out under the direction of the master-mason, Brother William of Crowland, who, from his memorial stone (recently discovered), was most likely a native of Warmington. At p. 360 of Bohn's edition of *Ingulph* it is stated he first built the western part of the cloisters from the foundations. After this he erected the two cross-aisles of the church, so remarkable for beauty, below the choir; one on the north, the other on the south; together with their vaulted roofs and their windows of glass, as well as a chapel on the northern confines thereof.

Besides this he ordered two tablets to be prepared by the diligent skill of the sculptors, for the purpose of being erected at the altar of St. Guthlac, placed on the side facing the east. One of these was painted, the other gilded. He also built the refectory-house, and rebuilt the lower part of the nave of the church, towards the west, as well as both aisles, together with their chapels. He also constructed a majestic row of buildings across the west, to the Water-Gate, entirely enclosing the Abbey from the town. Included in this account is a list of the names of donors to the building fund.

For about forty years we hear no more of the building ; but in 1463 Abbot John Lyttleton or Lyttlington vaulted the roofs of the north and south aisles, some part of which he gilded. He also glazed the windows, had the bells recast, and added an organ to the choir. About this time the great west tower was built, but the steeple was not put on until a later date. The present porch was also added at this time, for the double purpose of a hostelry below and a guest-chamber above. It acted also as a firm support to the tower, which from the first was not of a firm character, having been built as a vestibule of four open arches.

Very little more is known of the building until the dissolution, when, having been shorn of its revenues, with no one to conserve it, decay gradually crept over it, and piece by piece it crumbled away until necessity compelled the preservation of the north aisle for a parish church.

But few of our religious houses have experienced such an eventful history. Mixed and confusing as the Chronicles appear, gleaming through them is the fact of four clear and distinct buildings. First we have Ethelbald's memorial church, founded with the greatest care, and preserved until it was burned by the Danes. Second, Turketyl's Abbey, undoubtedly one of the noblest edifices of the time. Probably faulty foundations caused its untimely decay, which Joffrid noting, endeavoured to overcome by building, as it were, on a rock. When he removed the former pillars he reverently placed every stone of them, from basement to capital, in beautiful order, in wide array, on the bed of gravel. On these he laid his foundations secure ; and rather to the change of styles than

natural decay may we attribute the demolition of his church.

The fourth period was that of the existing remains, carried out chiefly by Abbots Richard Upton and John Lyttleton. Notwithstanding their skill their foundations were insecure. In some parts the stones were laid roughly on the peat. The chief cause of the present danger to the church is the foundations. When the style was changed from Norman to Gothic the north aisle was made a great deal wider. The northern wall has been laid on peat. Notwithstanding the support of chapels and heavy buttresses, it has given way; and the northern side of the tower, being also on new and unsound ground, has gone over considerably.

Before concluding I would note a remarkable confirmation of history in the discovery of two inscribed tablets, such as are mentioned in Ingulph's *Chronicle*. One¹ of them was taken from the foundations, bearing the name of John Tomson, a donor of the building fund, and a beautifully decorated cross. The other² is no less interesting, bearing the name of the builder of the last church, William of Warmington, master-mason; and a finely incised outline portrait-figure of him, holding in his hands masonic symbols.

The past thirty-five years have been rich in opportunities for studying the history of Crowland and its Abbey. When the new graveyard was formed, its soil was turned over fully 6 ft. in depth, in which were found foundations marking the sites of many of the conventual buildings. Stones red with burning were in abundance. In many of these, in one foundation marking the western side of the cloisters, numerous disintombed, broken stone coffins laid side by side in the wall. A portion of lead pipe was found, which on being followed led to a stone-built well near the site of the Water-Gate; and the recent underpinning of the foundations has proved many hitherto debated points of history to be correct.

The history of the Abbey since the dissolution, although comparatively uneventful, furnishes material of great interest, but must be left for the present. The mellow-

¹ Figured in *Journ.*, vol. xlv, p. 296.

² Figured in *Journ.*, vol. xlvii, p. 275.



ing influence of time endears the study of archæology to its votaries ; it is unselfish in its nature, and ennobling in its aims ; it appreciates all that was artistic, elevating, and good, and opens freely the treasury of past experience for the advancement of the present age. In the noble monuments reared by our ancestors we behold proof not only of their skill, but of their devotion. Their souls were in their work ; and through each traceried window and carved capital they yet speak to us. I cannot conclude better than by quoting Longfellow's lines :

“ In the elder days of Art
Builders wrought with greatest care
Each minute and unseen part,
For the gods see everywhere.”

THE PADSTOW CROSSES.

BY ARTHUR G. LANGDON, ESQ.

(*Read 20 May 1891.*)

PADSTOW (anciently Petrocstow) is a small town and seaport on the estuary of the Camel. It is situated on the north coast of Cornwall, in the Deanery of Pyder, and is sixteen miles north-west of Bodmin.

There are three very interesting monuments at Padstow, all being within about five minutes walk of each other. The first which I shall describe is in the churchyard, and consists of the stump of a cross-shaft fixed in its base. The second is in the grounds of Prideaux Place, and is composed of a very fine cross-head and part of a shaft. The third is a cross-head attached to a small portion of its shaft, and is built into the wall of a garden now occupying the site of the old Vicarage House. Other crosses are said to have existed in this parish, but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, no trace of them now remains.

Several points of interest are connected with the Padstow crosses, as regards both their discovery and the ornament upon them. Full particulars of each will be given in the separate descriptions. It may be mentioned here that of the six examples in Cornwall, of crosses which have cusps in the openings, two are at Padstow, and the other four are in the following places, viz., in the churchyards of St. Columb Major and of Quethiock, in the new Cemetery at St. Breward, and in the grounds of Pencarrow, Egloshayle. All except the last named, and that in the Vicarage garden, Padstow, are ornamented by interlaced knots on the limbs.

Crosses enriched with cusps differ from others of the four-holed class in having the additional architectural feature of three cusps in each of the four holes in the cross-head, thereby presenting the appearance of trefoil-openings.

These cusps are formed of a roll or bead running

from front to back of the stone, and projecting one from either limb, and one from the ring. This treatment of the holes is another peculiarity which is confined to Cornwall. On some of the Irish crosses a round projection is placed on the inside of the ring on each of the four holes between the limbs; but those on the limbs themselves are always omitted. In no case are the cusps pointed like those used in Gothic architecture, although they are often erroneously so shown in the illustration of these crosses.

On two previous occasions, when dealing with the early Christian monuments of Cornwall, I exhibited drawings which I ventured to state were the first accurate illustrations in which the ornament was shown, and I again have the pleasure of repeating that statement in regard to the drawings accompanying this paper. The ornament is reproduced from rubbings, the patterns of which were sketched in on the spot. This is a most necessary measure, since it is often impossible afterwards to trace the designs with any certainty unless this precaution be taken, especially in cases like the present, where, owing to the disintegration of the granite, the ornament has become very indistinct.

I will now proceed to describe the three crosses separately, in the order in which I have already referred to them.

PART OF A CROSS-SHAFT AND BASE IN PADSTOW CHURCHYARD.

PLATE I.¹

The monument now stands in the extreme south-east corner of the churchyard, close to the eastern entrance. A few yards west of this entrance, on the right hand side of the path, is a plain tombstone recording that one Prudence Sowden "departed this life" 19 June 1850. Her husband died on 8 March 1869; and while digging the grave for him beside that of his wife, the sexton came upon the cross-base. He at first thought it was merely some large stone of no particular interest; but on clearing away the surrounding earth, in order to remove it, he came upon the shaft, the top of which was about 18 in. below the surface. The late Mrs. Mary Prideaux-Brune, who happened

¹ Plan to smaller scale.

In Padstow churchyard.



W.



S.



E.

Scale of feet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10



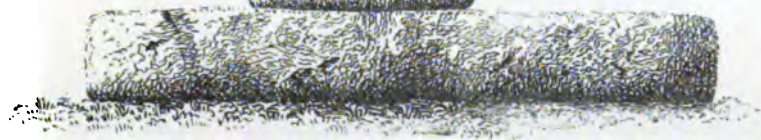
Plan.



N.



In the Vicarage Garden.



Walter P. Langdon
10 June 1890.

to be passing through the churchyard at the time, caused the shaft and base to be raised, and placed them, for preservation, in the position mentioned above. Her nephew, Mr. Charles G. Prideaux-Brune, thinks that this monument was thrown down during the Commonwealth,¹ and hidden in the ground. His theory is likely to be correct, as tradition states that the other part of the shaft and the head still lie buried in the churchyard. In support of his statement it is locally asserted that at the interment of an old woman named Molly Waters, which took place some years ago, the coffin, when lowered, rested on the head of a cross, which it was not then considered worth while to rescue. Should this be the case, there is some hope that eventually the missing portions of this once fine monument may be brought to light.

The situation of the cross on the south side of the church may be taken as almost conclusive evidence of its being *in situ*, since most of the churchyard-crosses are found in this position. Its depth below the surface is accounted for by the gradual elevation of the soil during a period of some hundreds of years, which is partly due to numerous interments, and partly to other causes which it is unnecessary here to particularise.

If we may judge by the massiveness of both the stump of the shaft and of the base, the cross must have been of unusual dimensions, since there is no other in the county that can be compared in size with what we may assume it originally to have been.

Before proceeding with a description of the ornament, it should be mentioned that in an article on "Two Cornish Crosses", which appeared in the *Antiquarian Magazine* for August 1883, an attempt was made to show that the part of a shaft and the cross-head in Prideaux Place (situated a quarter of a mile west of the church) are portions belonging to the monument now being described. The writer states that "when all the parts are brought together it cannot be less, and may be more, than 23 ft. high"! He arrives at this opinion by assuming,—from the inclination of the sides,—that two pieces of the shaft, respectively 8 ft. 8 in. and 3 ft. 8 in. long, are missing. But

¹ There are three distinct marks of wedges near the fracture, showing that the destruction was intentional.

although the stump of the shaft is 3 ft. wide at the bottom, it is only $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, and it seems clear that a stone of such proportions would not have sufficient stability. True, the kind of granite in each case, and the size of the base, are apt to be misleading, as the latter certainly suggests a cross of no mean size; but in the absence of reliable evidence in favour of this theory, coupled with its impracticability, it cannot reasonably be entertained. The safest course to pursue, therefore, is to deal with the Padstow Churchyard and Prideaux Place monuments as two separate crosses.¹

Dimensions.—Height of shaft, 3 ft. 6. in.; width at the bottom, 3 ft.; at the top, 2 ft. 6 in.; thickness at the bottom, $13\frac{1}{2}$ in.; at the top, 13 in. The base is 8 ft. 2 in. long, 5 ft. wide, and 13 in. thick.

All four sides of the shaft are ornamented as follows: the west, south, and east, with interlaced work, and the north with incised and miscellaneous decoration combined.

West side.—A twist combined with a figure-of-eight distorted, or it may be derived from a plait by making T-shaped breaks.

South front.—A splendid example of eight-cord, broken plaitwork, further particulars of which will be found at the end of this description.

East side.—A piece of twist and ring ornament containing now two rings, and having the termination of the pattern shown at the bottom.

North front.—A curious design resembling a rude fleur-de-lis, produced partly by incised lines and partly by sunk spaces.

The ornament on the south front of this monument is of a very uncommon and interesting nature, and differs considerably from that usually found in Cornwall. There are two other examples which resemble it; but in each case there is a slight variation in the arrangement of the outside cords as well as in the termination of the pat-

¹ The above remarks have only been inserted with the object of removing an idea which, for want of sufficient evidence, is obviously an assumption, and also with a desire to give only such information as may be considered reliable, or accepted as reasonable. In the present case it is especially needful, since many persons are still of opinion that these monuments are both parts of one and the same cross.

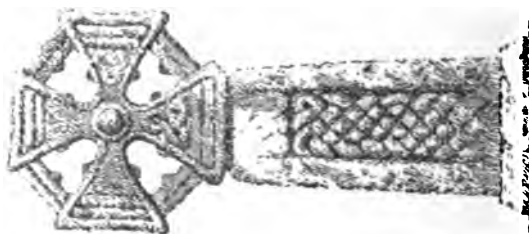
In Prideaux Place, Padstow.



Modern base



Left side.



Back.



Right side.



Wm. S. Angles
10 June 1890

Front.

tern. One occurs on a cross found at Wakefield, now preserved in York Museum ; and the other is on a cross from Ilkley, now in the Leeds Museum. In addition to these there are three similar instances in ancient MSS., viz., (1), in a Commentary on the Psalms by Cassiodorus (Book of Durham) ; (2), in *Vespasian, A. I* (British Museum) ; (3), in *Codex Aureus, Harl.* (Brit. Mus.)

CROSS IN PRIDEAUX PLACE, PADSTOW.

PLATE II.

Prideaux Place, the seat of Charles G. Prideaux-Brune, Esq., is situated about a quarter of a mile west of Padstow Church.

This monument consists of a very fine four-holed head and part of a cross-shaft, which are mounted on a modern base of three steps in the above grounds. The following account, contained in a letter from Mr. Prideaux-Brune, appears to state all that is known with regard to the cross. Writing in February 1888 he says : "I am afraid I cannot give you much information. The cross itself has been here as long as I can recollect (some fifty-six years), and, as far as tradition goes, has been here for a very long antecedent period. Some years since I found the piece of the shaft in the grounds and for preservation I had it placed in its present position, on some plain granite steps."

The head is the most remarkable of its kind. The limbs are very narrow on the inside, and are widely expanded at the ends. The outer edges of the upper and two horizontal limbs are slightly concave ; but the unique treatment of the connecting pieces between the limbs is a characteristic which calls for special notice. Instead of the usual ring, the limbs are connected by four straight pieces just within the extremities of the limbs, from the face of which they are slightly recessed, the whole outline of the head forming an octagon. The cross is bordered by a bead, and the diagonal portions are formed of two beads, the lines of which are continued through the limbs in a similar manner to that described in the account of the cross in the Vicarage garden, Padstow. Owing to the narrowing of the limbs, the triangular spaces between them and the octagonal connections

are much larger than usual, each being ornamented by three cusps in the positions already defined.

Originally the shaft was of greater length; this being clearly shown not only by the absence of the horizontal heads at either end (which should have enclosed the panels), but also by the uneven lines of fracture across the ornament; the latter being thereby rendered incomplete, since no terminations of the pattern remain. The angles are considerably chipped, and the ornament is much abraded at the top and bottom. The entasis is very slight, and the beads on the angle are wide and flat.

Dimensions.—The head: height, 2 ft. 8 in.; width, 2 ft. 8½ in., and 2 ft. 6 in. across the diagonal connections. The shaft: height, 3 ft. 4 in.; width at the top, 1 ft. 4 in.; at the bottom, 1 ft. 8 in.; thickness at the bottom, 13 in.; at the top, 12 in.

All four sides are ornamented as follows:

Front.—On the head a central boss with surrounding bead. On each limb was a triquetra-knot, but only that on the lower limb now remains distinct. On the shaft is some treble-beaded figure-of-eight knotwork arranged in a vertical row, and without intervening spaces.

Left side.—On the head no ornament; on the shaft some very curious scrollwork of quite a different character from that usually found.

Back.—The head is similar to the front, but an additional triquetra-knot on the left limb is here distinct. On the shaft a division occurs in the plaitwork near the top. The work in the upper portion is not sufficiently clear to define; the lower consists of an irregular six-cord plait, the bands of which do not lap over and under regularly. This is not an uncommon feature in Celtic plaitwork.

Right side.—On the head no ornament; on the shaft is foliage consisting of an undulating stem, springing from which are leaves in the hollows on either side, like those on the south side of the Water-Pit Down cross-shaft, Minster.

CROSS IN THE VICARAGE GARDEN, PADSTOW.

ON PLATE I.

This garden adjoins the eastern boundary of the churchyard, and occupies the site of the old Vicarage. It is now

rented by Dr. Marley, through whom I am able to give the following particulars regarding the cross. Writing in February 1888 he says : "The Rev. Richard Tyacke has been Vicar of Padstow for fifty-one years, and having made inquiries about the cross, he told me it was there when he came, and imagines that Mr. Rawlings, the former Vicar, had it placed where it now is for preservation. It was supposed to have been taken from the churchyard."

Another old inhabitant to whom I applied said that he was just able to remember the old Vicarage, and corroborates the above statements.

The cross is made of white elvan, and is built into the boundary-wall on the south side of the garden, about 3 ft. from the ground, so that the front only is visible. It was evidently used in the construction of the wall of which it forms a part, as the four holes are filled up with small stones, bits of brick, and mortar.

Dimensions.—Height, 1 ft. 11 in. ; width across the arms, 1 ft. 8½ in. ; diameter of ring, 1 ft. 7 in. ; thickness, 10 in.

Of all the four-holed crosses in Cornwall this is the smallest. Only 3 in. of the shaft remain, which is beaded on the right side. The bead on the left is broken away. There is a central boss with encircling bead. The limbs are also beaded, and the ring has double beads on the face. In examples like this, where the line of the beads on the ring is continued through the limbs, it does not cut through the marginal beads, by which the outline of the cross is formed, but stops against them, thus preserving the outline of the cross intact. The holes between the encircling ring and limbs of the cross are enriched with cusps ; but this cross, like the one at Pencarrow, is without the knots on the limbs, which in other cases were used in the decoration of monuments of this type.

These, so far as I am aware, are the only crosses of any kind in the parish of Padstow, and the foregoing account contains all that is known to me regarding them.

BARHOLME CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

(Read 4 June 1890.)

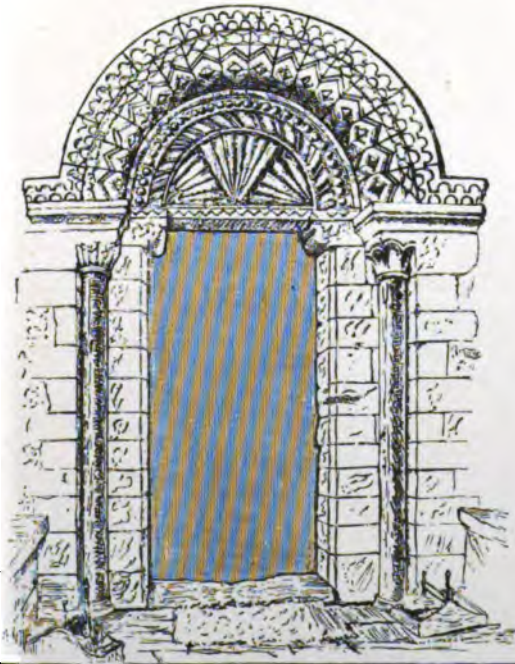
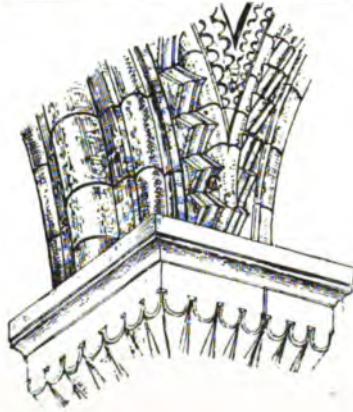
It is impossible to read over the paper on the so-called "Saxon" churches of Lincoln, printed in the March Part of our *Journal*, without seeing that though the study of architectural remains dating prior to 1066 has of late increased, yet that such increase is merely produced at the cost of the sacrifice of an equal portion of that previously given to the style which supplanted it.

Architectural students prior to Rickman's labours, had hardly escaped out of the fog which led them to call almost all round-arched work Saxon. Such a mist seems again closing down, in so far as, at least, the earlier changes marking the progress of Norman architecture are presently regarded.

Shortly prior to the twelfth century, south-east Lincolnshire and north-east Northants (both abounding in quarries of excellent building stones) were particularly fortunate, architecturally speaking, in the intimate connection their landed nobility and clergy had with certain French districts; then the special centres of *advanced* architectural progress. They thus from thence derived master-masons, who when transplanted to these English quarry-centres became active agents in the erection of groups of churches of like advanced design and character. In these they so often repeat certain features of ornamentation and mouldings, which leave little difficulty in the disengaging, and assigning to each master-mason those buildings peculiar to himself, and at *times*, from internal evidence, even suggesting their approximate order among his erections. This condition is common to both banks of the Welland. Thus in Northamptonshire the designer of Castor Church (whose fine tower Britton has given in his *Architectural Antiquities*) can be readily discovered to have been the author of Wakerley Church, *Maksey Tower*, St. Peter's, Northampton, with various

Cap, North Arcade, Barholme Church.

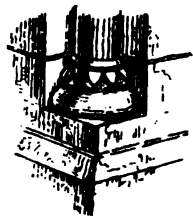
Pl. II.



PEAKIRK CHURCH.—South Door.

J. T. Irvine.

others, or parts of others, in all of which this peculiar scaled base is invariably present. Of his period approximate historical evidence exists in the Castor dedicatory inscription, dated 1124. In his Maksey tower (a simpler copy of that at Castor) he not only repeats, as usual, certain of its mouldings, but copied the vertical projecting strips on its pre-Norman neighbour at Barnak.



Singular to say, when the above date is compared with that of the design for the present Abbey Church of Peterborough, obtained in 1116 or 1117, not a trace of his hand or influence exists there. This design, no whit behind in excellence and nobility of character, is yet in ornamentation far behind his works.

South Lincolnshire possessed in like manner very able master-masons (some certainly local men), who erected in their districts many fine and noble works. These likewise present so much individuality of design and ornamentation as readily to permit like separation and distinguishing of those of one master from those of his fellows. The work of one such master (and I believe a local man) is well illustrated in Mr. Lynam's sketch, the No. 1 of the plate given with the paper in our Journal (part of his work at Stow Church), and other works of his the sketches (1 to 5) sent herewith will illustrate. All who note on Mr. Lynam's drawing the "horn butter-spoon" ornament at Stow Church, the one he delighted to reproduce, will not readily mistake it when again seen on these sketches from Barholme Church, near Tallington Station (No. 1). A door of his work is there, still in fair preservation (see Sketches Nos. 2 and 3); also its parts, seen more at large on No. 4, exhibiting his repeats of the Stow "spoons", over which rows of "saw-tooth" ornament and double rows of Norman billeting prevent all doubt rising in regard to its style or date. Its peculiarities and T-cross placed over the door unquestionably placing it in that period prior to 1100, when a great recurrence took place to an imitation of Saxon design and (as usual in copyism) an overdone effort to replace its interlacing ornament, which fashion explains the introduction of the shallow Saxon-

looking T-cross over the doorway, whose stone strip is neither arranged to pass round the opening, as the true Saxon mason did at Barnak, nor possesses that depth of projection he would have given to retain its boldness in front of the rough cast covering of wall when the thickness of the same was deducted.

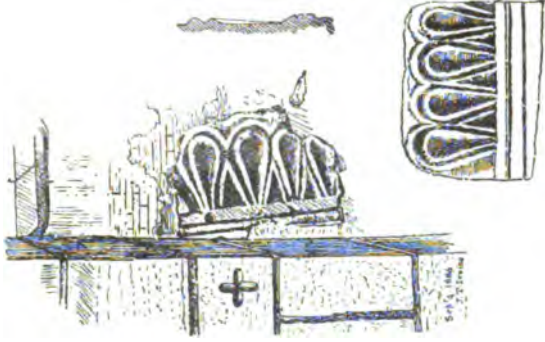
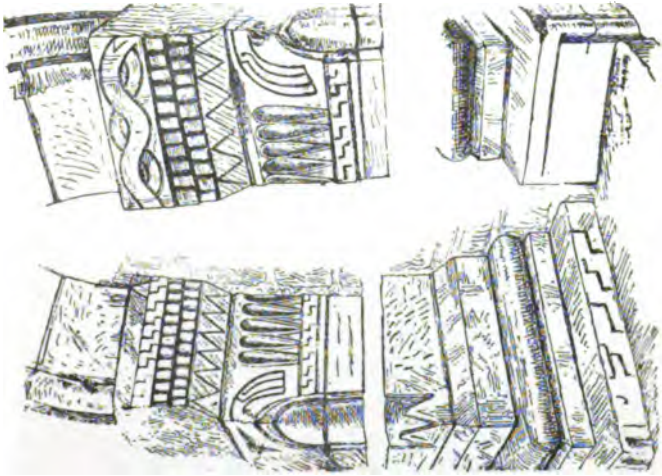
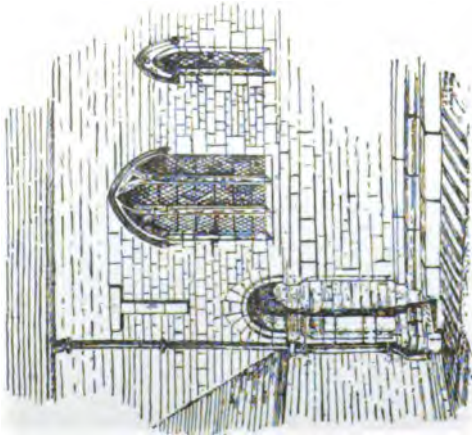
The small nave, the work of this architect, has mostly disappeared before an enlargement in manner usually found in these districts, *i.e.*, the addition of a chantry-aisle over the then unused ground north of nave, which last was here also lengthened westwards, to which increased space a door of commensurate dignity (see Sketch No. 8) was given, and placed just west of the former, then built up. The author of the first nave and its door made his influence felt across the Welland. Sketch No. 5 proves he had been employed to erect an earlier church on the present site of that at Paston, close to Peterborough, of which structure this fragment, ornamented again with the Stow "spoons", alone remains: now re-used as an ordinary wall-stone in the east end of the present chancel; which carved fragment, so difficult at first to translate, his door at Barholme explained at once as an impost to a like doorway, but one that had vanished five hundred years ago.¹ Its unusual neck-mould could be recognised, and seen to be of purely Norman section; abundant evidence thus presenting itself that the Stow Church window, with "spoon"-adorned label and imposts, is but Norman local work added to the older Saxon building there formerly existing. Further evidence to the same end will eventually, no doubt, appear from other quarters also.

The master-mason of the north aisle and extended nave of Barholme (see Sketches 6, 7, 8) has left his impress discoverable on his works with almost as much facility as his predecessor. A wider search than mine will no doubt be rewarded by the recovery of other buildings of his design. Sketch No. 9 will show that he had been employed in producing the south door of Peykirk Church. Though the names of these men are as lost and unknown as those of the designers of the fronts

¹ What a number of churches this "*Saxon*" (?) architect must have built!

BARHOLME CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

**PASTON CHURCH. Pl. I.
(In East Wall of Choir.)**



7-1

1st South Door.

West Jamb.

East Jamb.

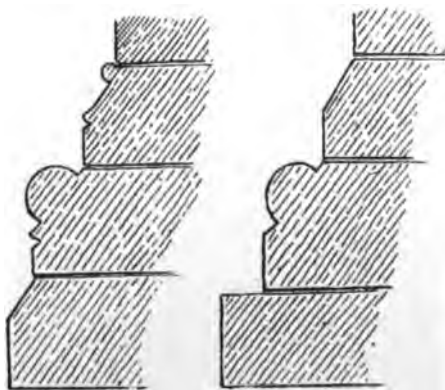
NORMAN PERIOD. The Work of First and Local Master Mason.

Fragment in East Wall.
Work of same Master Mason.
J. T. Irvine.

of Wells and Peterborough, yet the stamp of their presence and minds lives equally in their works; nor is this confined alone to them. Thus, while the designer of Castor Church and tower leaves his mark at St. Peter's, Northampton, and executes the tower at Maksey Church, the north arcade of that very same church can, from internal evidence, be demonstrated to have been the work of the master-mason engaged on the choir of Peterborough Abbey; while its south arcade is equally demonstrable to be the work of a third-mason's hand, at a period when the Transition first made its appearance.

That parts of the Lincoln churches, loosely termed Saxon, are truly so, Mr. Brock effectually proves by his sketch from St. Peter-at-Gowts, No. 3 on the plate in Journal; this, fortunately, not only gives the very late Saxon quoins of the angle, but the fact that on the top of so much of this Saxon building as remains is built later walling, of which he gives four or five stones and courses, to which work or age may possibly belong the windows illustrated in the plate, not one of which ever saw the Saxon period, but undoubtedly are "root and branch" of Norman or even Transitional date, for the shortest is fully four diameters of clear width of opening in length, which fact ought surely to have raised in any "*Saxon's*" breast doubts on the subject!

The evident lateness of the Saxon work illustrated suggests that if Dr. Freeman's site is a bad one, the structure of his theory is by no means bad workmanship.



Peterborough, 1117.

Barholme Church.

Since the above was written, the Rev. H. Usher's *Guide to Stow Church* is to hand, with plan and view from nave into choir. The label over the nave-arch has the butter-spoons. The arch, however, has but rude connection with the Saxon responds below, and seemingly is a Norman rebuilding of the old arches. In the view the rude shafts with square, vertical strips behind cease at the springing; their date late, and form similar to the late Saxon choir-arch at Wittering Church. The lamentable want of comparison of Saxon structures with each other, and unfortunate desire of clergymen (who have such interesting structures) to remove their supposed age back into any possible or impossible remoteness of age, renders the major part of such descriptions utterly unworthy of regard.

The notes given of Stow Church's history, and Mr. H. Usher's small *Guide* to the Church, correspond with Sir Charles Anderson's excellent notes read by him to the Archæological Institute during their first visit to Lincoln. He says: "The nave is early Norman", agreeing "very accurately with the work of Remigius the Norman, A.D. 1070-92. The more enriched choir, with the exception of the east window, is the work of Bishop Alexander, A.D. 1123-47." (P. 225, vol. v, of Parker's vols. of *Archæological Journal*.) The *Guide-Book* says (p. 25) "a monastery was founded in Stow in 1040"; p. 24, that "under Bishop Eadnoth II (1034-50) and Wulwy or Ulf (1050-67), Stow Church was restored. Surely here is the very record of the erection of the Saxon crossing and transepts (bounded by dates 1040-66?). Here we have the period of the "spoon" adornment by a local architect of early Norman age (1066-92). P. 26: "In 1109, Robert Bloet, second Bishop of Lincoln, made an end of the monastery." Hence the cause of the advanced Norman choir (?).

THE ABBOTS OF BOXLEY.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., VICAR OF DETLING, MAIDSTONE.

THE Abbey of Boxley, in Kent, was among the earlier of the religious houses of Cistercian Order established in England. It was founded in 1145, while the Benedictine Abbey of Christ Church, Canterbury, had preceded it by many years. The latter naturally, from its connection with the Primacy, holds a more conspicuous place in the annals of the English Church, yet that of Boxley is not without its history, and it is in the pages of the early chroniclers of Canterbury, Gervase and Eadmer, that that history may be first traced. No Abbot of Boxley could be recognised as such until he had received confirmation, or, as it was termed, "benediction", at the hands of the Primate; therefore to the *Actus Pontificum Cantuariensium*, preserved by Gervase in his Chronicles, we are indebted for the names (though nothing more) of its earlier Abbots.

From this source we learn that Archbishop Theobald, who held the Primacy from 1139 to 1161, confirmed three Abbots, LAMBERT, THOMAS, and WALTER.¹ Unfortunately only the Christian names are given, without any distinguishing designation or title, so that their previous or subsequent careers cannot be traced with any certainty, and it is only possible, by reference to dates, to connect any of them with any events in which Abbots of Boxley are said to have taken part.

As the Abbey was only founded in 1145, and Gervase gives March 1152-3 as the date of the confirmation of Abbot Thomas, it may be reasonably inferred that Lam-

¹ Gervase gives the following from the *Actus Pontificum, de Theobaldo*: "Abbatē istos benedixit Theobaldus, ... Lambertum scilicet de Boxeleia, ... Thomam de Boxeleia, ... Walterum de Boxeleia. De Ricardo, Johannem benedixit Abbatem de Boxeleia. De Baldwino, Dionysium quoque benedixit Abbatem de Boxeleia." In his *Chronicon* he gives the date of the confirmation of Thomas thus: "A.D. 1152. Hoc anno Theobaldus Cantuariensis, totius Angliæ Primas, et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, benedixit Thomam Abbatem de Boxeleia ad altare Christi Cantuariæ, vi Non, Martii,"

bert was the first to sit in the abbatial chair, and that it was he who in the year 1151, with his brother Abbot of Faversham, attended Archbishop Theobald when he, under papal compulsion, confirmed Sylvester as Abbot of St. Augustine's Monastery. The story runs thus :

On the vacancy occurring, the monks chose Sylvester,¹ one of their own body ; but the Archbishop having received very unfavourable reports of his life, refused to admit him until, on his appealing to Rome, a mandate came from Pope Eugenius III,² to which Theobald was compelled to bow. The ceremonial of the confirmation could not fail to be an imposing one. St. Augustine's was clearly *fulcrum principis* among the English abbeys of that day. In addition to the goodly retinue which befitted his own dignity and that of the Abbot elect, the function required the presence of two other Abbots as attendants on the Primate, for which honour Theobald seems to have selected those of Boxley and Faversham.

Of Lambert's successor, THOMAS, there is apparently nothing on record.

WALTER, whom Gervase places third on the list, would seem to have had a noteworthy career; but before entering upon it, notice should be taken of the list which Battely gives, as with him three more intervene between Thomas and Walter. He gives the order thus: Lambert, Thomas, John, William, Dionysius, and then Walter. His list appears at the end of the *Monastic Domesday*,³ but does not state from what source he obtained the names, whereas the list given by Gervase is clearly taken from the official records of the See, and he expressly says that John was confirmed by Archbishop Richard (1174-84), and Dionysius by Baldwin (1185-92). It, therefore, seems

¹ Bishop Godwin (*De Presulibus*, p. 70) thus describes the controversy: "Silvester quidam, variorum criminum infamia notatus, Monachorum tamen suffragiis cœnobii Augustiniani Abbas designatus est. Hunc ille, quod tanto munere indignum judicaret admittere, (aut ut usitato more loquar benedicere), renuit. Sed iste, qualitercunque moratus, bene certe nummatus, Pontificem potuit habere patronum; cujus literis iterum iterumque perscriptis, interpellatus, vel potius dixerim, minis et mandatis coactus, Archiepiscopus Silvestrum tandem (neque enim aliter poterat) voti fecit compotem."

² Or Adrian III. See Battely's *Somner*, Cantuar., App. ii, xxxiv, p. 61.

³ Battely's *Somner*, Part I, App., p. 51.

quite justifiable to place Walter as the direct successor of Thomas.

In this case he was no insignificant representative of the Abbey of Boxley, for he it must have been on whom devolved the honour of officiating on no less historical an occasion than at the burial of Thomas à Becket. He, with the Prior of Dover, had been summoned to Canterbury by the Archbishop, to consult with him as to the selection of a monk to fill the vacant post of Prior of Christ Church,¹ and was there on that memorable Christmastide when Becket fell a victim to the ruthless savagery of the four knights.² In the utter consternation and bewilderment of the poor monks it fell on him to perform the last sad office of consigning hurriedly to its first resting-place in the crypt, before the altars of S. John and S. Augustine, the blood-stained corpse of the martyr-Primate; an office which, as the shirt of hair betrayed him to be a Cistercian, was most fitting at the hands of a Cistercian Abbot.³

The next event in English history in which an Abbot of Boxley has a place, is the Synod of Westminster,⁴ convened in 1175, by Henry II, at the solicitation of Archbishop Richard (Becket's successor), commonly known as Richard of Dover, where he had been Prior. At this Synod the King himself was present, and several canons were promulgated bearing on the celibacy, dress, and general demeanour of the clergy.

Whether it was Abbot Walter or his successor JOHN (whom Archbishop Richard had confirmed) is doubtful, as the date of Walter's death and of Abbot John's confirmation is not recorded, but it is probable that the latter was the one who about 1180, again in conjunction with him of Faversham, was selected by Pope Alexander III⁵

¹ "Affuit illi obsequio Abbas de Boxeleia et Prior de Dovra, vocati prius ab Archiepiscopo quia eorum consilio Priorem qui in Cantuariensi non erat ecclesia unum de Monachis voluit facere." (*Vita S. Thome*, auctore Wilhelmo filio Stephani, s. 151, quoted by Cragie Robertson, *Materials for the Life of Becket* [Rolls Series], iii, 148.)

² John of Salisbury (Giles ed.), p. 257.

³ Becket had been admitted to that Order at Pontigny, during his exile, in 1164. (Cragie Robertson's *Becket, a Biography*, p. 163.)

⁴ *Gesta Henrici II et Ricardi I* (Rolls Ed.), i, 85.

⁵ *Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Bertin*, vol. i, 412, quoted in *Arch. Cant.*, iv, 215.

to arbitrate between Sir Nathaniel de Leveland and the monks of St. Bertin, at St. Omer's, concerning the right to the Leveland Chapel in the alien Priory of Throwley,¹ which was a cell attached to the Cluniac Abbey of St. Bertin. The decision was given in favour of the monks.

Abbot John was followed by DIONYSIUS, who was confirmed by Archbishop Baldwin 1185.² He appears to have been at once selected by Pope Urban III to take part in a commission with his brother Abbot of Faversham under the distinguished prelate, Hugo de Grenoble,³ Bishop of Lincoln. The circumstances were these. Baldwin had, within the first year of his attaining to the primacy, appropriated to his own use the revenues of the two parishes of Eastry and Monkton, which had been expressly assigned "for the use of the poor". The members of this Commission were specially enjoined to use their influence with the Archbishop to restore these funds to their original use, in which it seemed they succeeded.

But the most important controversy in which, during the same primacy, an Abbot of Boxley was concerned, was when Archbishop Baldwin and the Monks of the Christ Church Monastery had their bitter contest. Here comes an incident of English Church history of no little importance. From the days when Lanfranc carried out his plan for changing the relation between the Primacy and the Christ Church Monastery, detaching the one from the other, and dividing the hitherto common property, at every vacancy of the see a struggle for the right of electing the successor had arisen between the Monks (who claimed the right on the ground that they had previously elected him as their Abbot) and the Bishops of the Southern Province, whose claim was based on the fact of his being their Metropolitan. Sometimes this struggle became so intense as to require the intervention of the King, or the Pope, coming down as a *deus ex machinâ*,

¹ The church of Throwley had been granted to the Abbey of St. Bertin by William d'Ypres, who had been the original founder of Boxley Abbey.

² Archbishop Baldwin was only promoted to the primacy early in the year 1185, and Pope Urban only wore the tiara for a few months in that and the following year.

³ He is also variously styled Bishop of Avalon, or Ascalon.

and appointing a nominee of his own. Now Baldwin had originally been the choice of the Bishops, in opposition to the nominee of the monks; but on the entreaty of the King they withdrew their claim to elect, and accepted the episcopal choice. Still they set themselves persistently to thwart him at every turn, and instead of being, as the Chapter was originally designed to be, a council of helpers and advisers, they set themselves to counteract him in every branch of his administration. To escape from their interference Baldwin resolved to establish a Chapter of Seculars at a little distance from the metropolitan city, and thus be free of them; but his attempt was frustrated by the intrigues of the Monks, and neither at St. Stephen's, near Canterbury, nor at Maidstone, nor even at Lambeth, could he fully carry his point; and he died with his object unattained.

Meanwhile Richard had come to the throne, and found the struggle still going on, or rather renewed by Hubert Walter, who had become Archbishop. A change, too, had taken place in the Abbey of Boxley. ROBERT¹ had succeeded Dionysius, and he was destined to occupy a conspicuous position in the struggle, and in other events which were passing. Richard selected him, in conjunction with the Abbot of Rievaulx, to mediate between the contending parties, and to bring to an end, if possible, a struggle which had now been going on for ten years, by persuading the Monks to yield; but they most defiantly refused to give way. The end was not to be yet. In the language of the old chronicler, they remained "harder than adamant, and more stiff than steel".² They had sent emissaries to Rome to obtain the Pope's favour, and the King despatched thither Abbot Robert and the Prior of the daughter house of Robertsbridge as delegates to plead the cause of the Archbishop.

On this, as on other occasions, the special province of the peaceful and peace-loving Cistercians seems to have

¹ Robert is mentioned as being Abbot in 1197 (*Pedes Finium*, xi; *Archæol. Cant.*, i, 240); and again in 1201 (*Ibid.*, lxxv; *Arch. Cant.*, ii, 262).

² "Missi sunt ad Conventum Abbates duo, viz., de Boxeleia et de Ponte Roberti, et ipsi aliquid temptarent efficere, verum Conventus, adamante durior et ferro fortior, non adqueivit eis." (Gervase, *Opera*, *Hist.*, i, 560.)

been to play the part of mediators; while another reason for the selection in this case probably was that Baldwin himself had, during the period of his monastic ardour, been admitted into that Order in the Monastery of Ford.¹

Again, in the year 1200, Abbot Robert was called upon by the Pope, Innocent III, to adjudicate on a question which had arisen in the northern province.² The point in dispute was the appointment to the archdeaconry of Richmond. Geoffrey Plantagenet, the Archbishop of York, an illegitimate son of Henry II, had nominated Honorius, while King Richard had selected for the vacant post Roger de St. Edmund, whom the Archbishop had refused to institute. To settle this, Pope Innocent commissioned Gilbert de Granvill, the Bishop of Rochester, with the Abbot of Boxley and the Prior of Leeds, to investigate and decide the respective claims; which they did in favour of Honorius by a compromise. Roger de St. Edmund succeeded him two years after.

One more connection between Hubert Walter and Boxley Abbey must not be omitted. The Archbishop, enfeebled as he was by illness and old age, was called on to settle a dispute between the Bishop of Rochester and his Monks, and had selected Boxley Abbey as the place at which he would hold his court; but while he was on his way there from Canterbury, the disease from which he was suffering (*anthrax*, carbuncle) had become so acute, he was obliged to turn aside to his Palace at Tenham; and there he died, a few hours after, in 1190.³

But the event which carries with it the most historic interest in connection with Boxley Abbey has yet to be mentioned. Richard I, having made his truce with Saladin, was hurrying home to counteract the intrigues and treachery of his brother John. In 1193, when passing through Austria, he fell into the hands of his bitter enemy, Leopold, who sold him to his scarcely less bitter enemy, the Emperor, by whom he was thrown into prison; but so secret was the place of his confinement, it could not be traced, till Walter, Archbishop of Coutances, the Chief Justiciar of England, selected, and at once despatched,

¹ Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. vi, p. 543.

² Hoveden's *Chronica* (Rolls Ed.). iv, 184, n.

³ Radulphus de Coggeshall, *Chronica Anglicana* (Rolls Ed.), p. 15f.

as specially suited for so delicate a purpose, Abbot Robert of Boxley and Prior John of Robertsbridge.

While Romance has immortalised the mythical adventure of the minstrel Blonden, and his discovery of the King's prison, History has remained silent, or said but very little, about the bold enterprise of the two Cistercian monks who really made the discovery and effected the ransom of their captive King.¹

Abbot Robert's eventful and stirring life came to a close in 1216, when he was succeeded by him who had been his companion on many commissions, and in his journey in search for Richard, JOHN, the Prior of Robertsbridge.²

Of him comparatively little is recorded. An event, however, which occurred in the year 1232 presents him in a somewhat unfavourable light. Grave complaints had been made to Gregory IX that great irregularities existed among the Kentish exempt monasteries of the Black Monks, and he issued a commission to Abbot John of Boxley and the Abbot of Bekeham (Bayham) to investigate the charges made against them. It may have been unfortunate, considering the jealousy which existed between the two great divisions of monks, the Black and the White, that two of the one class should have been selected to inquire into the doings of the other. The result not unnaturally was that the Visitors acted with what was considered by the victims an undue severity ("vehementius"). They complain of being treated very unjustly, especially by the Boxley Abbot, and entreat that other Visitors may be sent.³

¹ "Audita Regis captione, Walterus Rothomagensis Archiepiscopus, et cæteri domini Regis Justiciarii, miserunt Abbatem de Boxeleia et Abbatem de Ponte-Roberti Alemanniam ad quærendum Regem Angliæ; qui cum totam Alemanniam peragrassent, et Regem non invenissent, Bavariam ingressi sunt, et obviaverunt Regi in villa quæ dicitur Oxefer, ubi ducebatur ad Imperatorem, habiturus cum eo colloquium in die Palmarum." (Hoveden's *Chronica* [Rolls Series], vol. ii, p. 198.) "Interim prædicti Abbates...quos Justiciarii Angliæ ad quærendum Regem miserant, redierunt in Angliam post Pascha, narrantes pacem factam esse inter Imperatorem et Regem Angliæ, in hunc modum, quod Rex Angliæ dabit Imperatori Romanorum centum milia marcarum argenti de redemptione", etc. (Hoveden's *Chronica*, iii, 205.) Dr. Stubbs suggests that "Oxefer" is probably Ochsenfurt, on the Mayn, near Wurtzburg.

² For John's successor, in 1216, see MS. Harl. 247, f. 47.

³ "Gregorius Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis de Boxle

After this, for nearly two hundred years, the succession of the Abbots becomes very difficult to trace.¹ The Abbey seemed to be subsiding into insignificance, and the Abbots into nonentities. An occasional name only occurs.² No incident of note in the life of any of them is recorded. For instance, in Kentish *Pedes Finium* allusion is made, in the year 1243, to one Simon, and again in 1248 to Alexander, as being Abbots of Boxley. Gervase mentions JOHN as Abbot in 1289, and ROBERT in 1303; then in 1356 incidental mention is made of an Abbot JOHN in the *Annals of Melsa*; and again, another of the same name in 1395.³ In Archbishop Chicheley's Register at Lambeth appears the name of RICHARD SHEPEY as Abbot in 1415. Then comes a long interval, in which not even a name is met with: all is blank and dark. However, towards the close of the fifteenth century light breaks in from another source. Among the municipal records of Maidstone are preserved the accounts of the long extinct "Fraternity of Corpus Christi", in which, on the lists of those who had been contributors to the funds of this institution, are the names of two Boxley Abbots,—JOHN WORMSELL from 1474 to 1481, and from the following year to 1490 that of THOMAS ESSEX, whose distinctive name we gather from the *Pedes Finium*.

This brings us again into touch with the political life of the country. In 1489 Henry VII had demanded a clerical subsidy, and the Archbishop of Canterbury cer-

Cisterciensis, et de Bekeham (Bayham), Premonstratensis Ordinis, Abbatibus,...et Præcentori ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis, salutem...Intelligimus siquidem quod nonnulla monasteria exempta Cantuariensis Diocesis in spiritualibus deformata et in temporalibus sint graviter diminuta dum Monachi et Moniales eorum, diabolica suggestione seducti, immemores pacti Domini sui, quo non solum sua sed seipsos professione ordinis abnegarunt...non sine furti nota et noxa Monasteriorum bona improprie sibi appropriant et retentant", etc. (Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, Rolls Ed., iii, 238.) "Mandati igitur hujus executores vehementius, et secus quam deceret, &c.; primo, in Abbatiam Sancti Augustini Cantuariæ, ingredientes seque supra se incomposite afferentes, præcipue Abbas de Boxle, adeo Monachos perterruerunt," etc.,... "et Romam profectis, consumpto labore, et effusa pecunia, alios visitatores impetrarunt." (*Ibid.*, p. 239.)

¹ W— Abb. Boxley in 1224. See *Building News*, Feb. 11, 1870, p. 115, col. iii.

² R— *temp.* Hen. III. See B. M. L. F. C., xxv, 10.

³ See Add. Ch. 16,487; Harl. Ch., 55 D. 1.

tified the Treasury and Barons of the Exchequer that he had appointed the Abbot and Convent of Boxley to collect all the dues within his diocese and jurisdiction ;¹ a mark, no doubt, of confidence and favour.

But Thomas' successor, JOHN, had apparently allowed the collection of the subsidy and the Abbey's own qucta to fall into arrears. To escape from the trouble and the debt he got himself transferred from the Abbey to the vicarage. The Lambeth Register tells us that in the year 1524 Abbot John was appointed to be Vicar of Boxley ; on the presentation, too, of a layman, one Thomas Penglose.² The change seems a strange one ; a Cistercian monk into a parish priest, and that in the same parish ; yet an insight into the surrounding circumstances will help to supply motives for such a step.

Two years before the Abbey had been charged with the sum of £50 as its share towards a further subsidy (or loan as it was called) which the King demanded towards defraying the expenses of an invasion of France which Henry threatened : and the money was not forthcoming.³ Again, in the same year, a presumptuous act of a priest (Sir) Adam Bradshawe (said to have been himself connected with the Abbey), was perpetrated, being no less than the tearing down from the chapel door of a document emanating from the Pope himself, and bearing the seal of the Archbishop, in which certain doctrines that were promulgated by Martin Luther had been denounced.⁴ For this act Adam Bradshawe had been imprisoned ; but that failed to purge his crime, or to wipe out the suspicion and odium which attached to the Abbey, which seemed to be altogether in a bad way, and the poor Abbot may have exemplified the proverbial rat by swimming away from the sinking ship. Whatever his motives, he left the Abbey for the Vicarage.

His successor Abbot was also a JOHN. His name was

¹ *Materials illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII* (Rolls Ed.), ii, 426.

² Archbishop Warham's *Register*, f. 395. Who this Thomas Penglose was, or how the right of presentation came to him, the writer has been unable to discover. The entry in the Archbishop's Register would certainly imply that he was recognised as "*pro hac vice verus patronus*".

³ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic* (Brewer), vol. iii, part ii, p. 1047.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Henry VIII, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 541.

Dobbes or Dobbs, as it is variously spelt.¹ He was destined to be the "last of his race", and appears to have been its scapegoat. They who had gone before had been sowing to the wind; it was for him to reap the whirlwind. It seems incredible that he as Abbot should have been, as he represented, perfectly ignorant of the trickeries of the "Rood of Grace". Yet some high in power pleaded for him. Archbishop Warham, in a letter to Cardinal Wolsey, says, "The Abbot, as far as I can perceive and learn, is utterly disposed to live hardly and precisely (strictly and honestly) to bring the place out of debt." Then Robert Southwell, the King's Commissioner, while pointing out the grievous neglect and waste that had marked the administration of the Abbey, by which a rental that once produced 700 marks, now barely reached 400, thinks "there hath grown no decay by this Prior, but the blame lay with his predecessors." Yet on him was to fall the doom which they who had gone before had the rather merited.

Simple-minded as John Dobbs may have been, or represented himself as being, he declared to the Commissioner, when they came to take over possession, that he was as much surprised as they at the mechanism of the Rood. He was clearly far-seeing enough to mark the set of the tide, and to make timely provision against it. To him surrender with a good grace, and a probable pension, were preferable to resistance and "a short shrift". So to escape such a fate as befell the recalcitrant Abbot, John Whiting, of Glastonbury, who was beheaded and quartered on the neighbouring Tor, or those of Reading and Colchester, and to secure by surrender the compensation of retirement with a pension, as had been granted to Robert Pentecost of Abingdon, he did not wait to be summoned, but offered to surrender; and so retiring with the honours of war, obtained a goodly pension of £50 a year for himself, and smaller ones for each of the monks.

With him ends the tale of the Abbots of Boxley.

¹ His name also appears on the list of those summoned to Convocation in the year 1529. (*Letters and Papers*, vol. iv, p. 2701.)

² *State Papers of Henry VIII* (Record Office), vol. ii, pt. ii, No. 1353. See *Arch. Cant.*, iii, 150.

³ *Suppression of Monasteries* (Camden Society), p. 172.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

SOME PRIVATE GRANTS OF ARMORIAL BEARINGS.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A.

It is so generally understood among antiquaries that coats of arms or armorial bearings can only be granted by the action of the College of Arms to individuals, other than those to whom arms and the right to bear them descend by pedigree, that students of heraldry will be glad to take cognisance of any instances of departure from these principles in mediæval times. Two such examples have recently come under notice, and the rarity of the proceedings embodied in them will make them acceptable to our readers.

The first document is written in Norman-French. It is a grant by Walter Haywode, Esquire, of Strathfieldsay, confirming to John Fromond, Esquire, his heirs and assigns, the lands and tenements of Haywode in Strathfieldsay, with the appurtenances, by name of the manor of Haywode, with the arms of: "a chief azure three fleurs-de-lis argent with a chevron of ermine: the which arms appertain to the lands and tenements aforesaid, and the which arms I have used and carried before this time by reason of right to the lands and tenements aforesaid." It is dated on the feast of St. Gregory the Pope, 5 Hen. IV. The interesting point here is that the owner of the manor is able to grant away not only the lands, but his family arms. The text of the deed is as follows:—

(*Brit. Mus., Add. Ch.* 36,987.)

"A toutz yceaux qe cestes presentz lettres verrount ou orrout Walter Haywode Esquyer de Stratfeld'say Salutz en dieux.

"Saches moy auer graunte et par ceste chartre conferme a Johan fromond' Esquyer et a sez heirs et a sez assignetz . toutz les terres tenementz rentes reversiones seutes et services de Haywode en Stratfeld'say susdite oue lez appurtenaunces par noun del Manoir de Haywode ouesqe lez armes qensuount cest assauer le chief de azure trois flourdelys dargent oue vn cheueroun Dermyn' ! les queux armes appartiegnount a les terres et tenementz auaunditz : et les queux armes iay vse et porte deuaunt ces heures a cause de

droit de les terres et tenementz anaunditz. Et auxi saches moy dit Walter auoir relese et par ycestes quitclayme pour moy mes heirs et assignetz a dit Johan ses heirs et ses assignetz tout le droit que iay en lez terres et tenementz rentes reuersiouns seutes et seruices de Haywode susdite oue les appurtenaunces et en les armes anaunditz : et encement en toutz les terres tenementz rentes reuersiouns seutes et seruices oue les appurtenaunces que le dit Johan ad et tient en fee de madoue en les villes de Bromle et Redyngge ou aillours en les countees de Southamptone et Berkshire : A auoir [et tenir] toutz les terres et tenementz rentes reuersiounes seutes et seruices anaunditz . oue lour appurtenaunces par noun del Manoir de Haywode susdite ensemblement ouesqe les armes susditz a dit Johan sez heirs et sez assignetz. Issint qe ieo lauaundit Walter mes heirs et mes assignetz nul droit title ne clayme pourroms en yceaux auer ou clamer en temps auenir : mes de toutz maneres actiouns en ycelles sumes closez et forbarrez par ycestes a toutz iours. Et ieo lauaundit Walter et mes heirs toutz les terres tenementz rentes et seruices et seutes oue lour appurtenaunces par noun del Manoir de Haywode ensemblement ouesqe les armes susditz a dit Johan ses heirs et sez assignetz encountre toutz gentz garanteroums a toutz iours par ycestes. En tesmoignaunce de quelle chose ieo lauaundit Walter a ycestes ay mys moun seal . Done en la feste de seynt Gregore la pape Lan de regne le Roy Henri quarte puis le conqueste dengleterre quinte.”

Endorsed,—“Stratfeldsay, Bromle, et Redyngge . Scriptum Walteri Haywode factum Johanni ffromond’ de terris et tenementis ibidem . simul cum armis ipsius Walteri”, etc.

On the morrow of the same feast, but in the previous year, the same grantor had preceded his confirmation of the above-mentioned lands and arms by a quit-claim or release of the same.¹ This time the deed is in Latin, and the arms are not specifically described, even in the erroneous and misleading terms by which they are set forth in the preceding deed. The text of this is given below :

(*Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 24,697.*)

“Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Walterus Haywode de Stratfeld’ Say salutem in Domino. Noveritis me remisisse relaxasse et omnino de et pro me et heredibus meis quietum clamasse Johanni ffromond’. heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum totum statum meum jus et clameum que habui habeo vel quovismodo in futurum habere potero de et in omnibus et singulis terris . tenementis . redditibus . revercionibus et servicijs cum suis . pertinencijs que predictus Johannes habet et tenet in feodo ex dono et concessione mei dicti Walteri et Thomasie

¹ Perhaps some confusion of dates, between 4 and 5 Henry IV, was made by the scribe.

uxoris mee in Stratfeld' Say et Bromle in Comitatu Suthamptonie et Redyng' in comitatu Barkes' simul et in armis a conquestu per tenentes feodorum . terrarum . et tenementorum de Haywode et Stratfeld' Say predicta semper deferendis . Habendum . tenendum . et deferendum omnia et singula supradicta terras . tenementa . redditus . reuerciones . et seruicia cum suis pertinentiis simul cum predictis armis . terris et tenementis de Haywode Spectantibus prefato Johanni ffromond . heredibus . et Assignatis suis bene et in pace jure hereditario de et pro me et heredibus meis quiete et absolute . imperpetuum de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum . per redditus et seruicia inde debita et de jure consueta . Et ego vero predictus Walterus et heredes mei omnia et singula supradicta terras tenementa redditus reuerciones et seruicia cum suis pertinentiis . simul cum predictis armis de Haywode prefato Johanni ffromond' . heredibus et assignatis suis warentizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus contra omnes gentes futuris temporibus duratura . In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti scripto . Ego predictus Walterus Sigillum meum apposui . Datum in crastino Sancti Gregorii Pape Anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie . quarto."

Endorsed.—"Stratfeldsaye . Bromle . Redyng' . Relaxatio Walteri Haywode et Tomesine vxoris sue."

To each of these deeds is appended a seal in red wax, imperfect, nearly one inch diameter, bearing a shield of arms: a chevron *ermine* between three fleurs-de-lis, within a carved gothic trefoil or panel with three points, ornamented with small hall flowers along the inner edge. The legend is:

✠ SIGILLVM . WALTERI . HAYWODE.

It is worthy of note that Burke ascribes no coat of arms at all resembling the above to Haywode: to Fromond that author attributes "*Ermines*, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis, *or*"; to Fromonds, "per chevron, *ermine* and *gules*, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis *or*." There is no trace of the chief in the shields of arms, and the word *chief* in the French deed is probably due to the ignorance of heraldic phraseology on the part of the lawyer who drew up the deed; he intended to say *azure*, a chevron *ermine* between three fleurs-de-lis *argent*; but as it stands in the text, no tincture is given for the field. The question naturally arises,—how did Haywode possess the power to grant his arms away with the land? And another question depends on these deeds also,—was this in accordance

with any precedent, and was it ever acted upon afterwards?

The next instance, being in English, explains itself without any remarks of mine. Here, again, the armorial bearings are evidently puzzling to the lay mind of the deeds-man.

(*Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 19,882.*)

"To all' trewe Christian people to whome this presente writinge shall come . Knowe ye That I George Morton of the Quenes Majestes towne of Barwick vpon Tweede Gentilman Mayor of the Same towne with the Aldermen there Sende gretinge in owre Lorde God euerlasting . for asmoche as yt Behoveth Everie Christian to witnes and concorde in all matters of truthe Beinge therevnto requyred for the Better avoydinge of all sequele dowbtes And thadvancemente of the veritie knowe ye that we the Sayde Mayor and aldermen the day of Makinge hereof have perfytllye Sene and Pervsed the laste will and testamente of George Bullock late M^r gonner over the companye of the Ordynarye gonners of Barwick aforesayde which beryeth dayte the xiiijth daye of June 1568 in the Tenth yere of our Soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth the quenes Majestes reigne that now ys In which will and testamente the Sayde George Bullock doth graunte and frelye gyve vnto his Sonne in Lawe this Berer Rowland Johnson of the same towne gentilman The M^r Mayson and Surveyor of the quenes Majestes workes there an armes whiche ys two speres The one Broken and the other hole with certayne Moorecockes standinge in a shielde which sheilde ys thone halfe blacke and the other half blewe . The helmette Blewe Mantyled white and Black with twoe yellowe tassells lyke golde at the endes . Whiche armes was wonne by the Sayde George Bullocke xxviiijth yeres sence of a Scottishe gentilman one of the house of Cockburne And nowe the Sayde George Bullocke By that his Sayde Laste will and testamente dothe frelye gyve and Surrender ouer the same Armes vnto his sayde Sonne in Lawe Rowlande Johnson as Before sayde for to gyve or vse yt in euerye condicōn as Lardgelye and as amplye as the Sayde George Bullock mighte or owghte to haue gyuen yt in His Lyfe time . In witnes wherof we have herevnto affyxed the Seale of the Mayoraltye of the Sayde towne of Barwyck the xixth daye of Julye In the xjth yere of the Reigne of owre Soveraigne Ladye Elyzabeth By the grace of God Quene of Englonde Frawunce And Yrelonde defendor of the ffayth et c. 1569."

These within-mentioned arms do not appear ever to have been used by the families of Morton or Bullock. Perhaps some of our readers may be able to supply other examples of this private fashion of granting arms, or throw some light on the documents.

Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 18TH NOV. 1891.

REV. W. SPARROW-SIMPSON, D.D., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following Associates was announced :

F. G. Hogg, Esq., 101 Leadenhall Street, E.C.
 John Larkin, Esq., Delrow, Aldenham, Watford
 F. D. Lindley, Esq., Wilsford Hall, Grantham
 F. G. Fletcher, Esq., No. 11 Room, Box L, Parr Station,
 Boston, Mass.
 Henry Fairfax Harvey, Esq., Wimborne Minster, Dorset.

The election of T. Cann Hughes, Esq., as Local Member of Council for Cheshire, was also reported, as well as that of the following Honorary Corresponding Members :

Geo. C. Yates, Esq., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester, Hon. Secretary,
 Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society
 Isaac Matthews Jones, Esq., City Surveyor, Chester
 W. H. R. Wright, Esq., Editor of *The Western Antiquary*, Free
 Library, Plymouth
 G. H. Rowbottom, Esq., Manchester and Salford Bank, Man-
 chester.

The following donations to the Library were announced, thanks having been rendered by the Council to the Donors,—

The Powysland Club, for "Collections Historical and Archæological," vol. xxv, Part II.

The Smithsonian Institution, for "Annual Report," July 1889 ; "Experiments in Aero-Dynamics," by S. P. Langley, 1891 ; "Tower Lecture," No. IX, by C. K. Mills, May 1891 ; "Literature of Columbium," 1801-87, by Frank W. Traphagen, Ph.D., 1888 ; "Bibliography,—Chemical Influence of Light," by Alfred Tuckerman, Ph.D., 1891.

The Cambrian Archæological Association, for "Archæologia Cambrensis," Nos. 31 and 32, 1891.

The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal of Proceedings," vol. i, Nos. 6 and 7, 5th Series, 1891.

The Society of Antiquaries, "Archæologia," vol. 52, Part II; "Proceedings," vol. xiii, No. 3, 1891.

The Glasgow Arch. Society, for "Transactions," vol. ii, Part I, 1891.

The Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Society, for "Transactions," vol. xv, Part I, 1890-91.

The Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Society, for "Proceedings," vol. xvi, 1891.

The Royal Dublin Society, for "Scientific Transactions," vol. iv, Ser. II, Parts 6, 7, 8; "Scientific Proceedings," vol. vi, Part 10; vol. vii, Parts 1 and 2.

The Royal Arch. Institute, for "Archæological Journal," vol. 48, No. 190, 1891.

To *Percy G. Stone, Esq.*, for "Archæological Antiquities of the Isle of Wight."

To *Ernest E. Baker, Esq.*, for "Calendar of Shakespearean Rarities," 1891.

The Rev. Carus V. Collier exhibited a bronze celt and a small spear-head, of bronze, of very fine and even texture, and made the following observations:—"I am sending for to-morrow's meeting two bronze implements for exhibition. They belong to a friend of mine, who came across them in a farmer's house near Settle, Yorkshire. The axe-head, the farmer said, was found in rebuilding a wall near Rathmell, in the neighbourhood of Settle. I could, however, find out nothing about the spear-head, except that it was from the same district. I believe the specimens had been some years in the farmer's possession; but, as I think they have never been brought before any learned society, I thought it would be interesting to the members of the British Archæological Association if I sent them up for inspection."

A. C. Fryer, Esq., LL.D., exhibited two fine prehistoric objects, described as follows:—

"*Antiquities from Canada*.—I have pleasure in exhibiting two specimens of early workmanship which have been recently sent me from Canada. These implements were ploughed up on the farm belonging to Mr. Robert Hume, near Port Hope, Ontario. One is a small axe-hammer, measuring 5 inches in length; the other is a chisel. The chisel has been broken, but its present length is 7½ inches, and it is nearly 2 inches in width."

Dr. Fryer also brought before the Association the following:

DISCOVERIES AT KIDWELLY.

BY ALFRED C. FRYER, PH.D., M.A.

On a rocky eminence overlooking the old town of Kidwelly stands the imposing ruins of the ancient castle. It is in fair preservation; several of the apartments are entire, and some of the flights of steps are not greatly injured. The ruins are picturesquely situated on the western side of the Gwendraeth-fach, a small river liable to obstructions, notwithstanding costly efforts for its improvement by Earl Cawdor. The quadrangular area is enclosed by strong walls with massive circular towers at the angles, and also by bastions in the intervals. The chief entrance is under a splendid gateway flanked by two round towers. The windows of the chapel, together with other portions of the castle, display interesting features of the early style of English architecture. In August an interesting discovery was made in this castle by a railway-porter and his brother. Inside a small chamber in one of the most perfect towers they struck a match, and, in a dark corner, discovered on a wall the remains of a hunting-scene cut in the mortar. It would appear that this rude picture had been traced with the sharp point of a stick or poniard before the mortar had hardened. A hound is distinctly seen, and it measures eleven inches from the end of its nose to its well-curved tail. The hunter is on horseback; in one hand he holds the reins, and in the other is a gigantic sword. He wears a tunic, fastened apparently with large buttons; a belt is round his waist, from which a leathern thong or leash extends to his hound. The horse appears to be galloping. Below is the game the hunter is in search of. It consists of two animals, one following the other. The first is a stag, and the horns and antlers are well defined. The other creature is more difficult to make out, and it may possibly have been intended for a roe. The hunter's tunic, his enormous spurs, and the trapping on the neck of his horse, all point to the fact that the artist lived a considerable time ago.

Kidwelly, or Cydweli, is of great antiquity, and it has been conjectured that it may have been the scene of the battle between Ambrosius and Vortigern. However, William de Londres, a Norman knight, made a conquest of this district in the reign of William Rufus, and it is said he erected a castle. Some think that it was Maurice de Londres, one of his descendants, who built the fortress. After many vicissitudes, it was repaired and strengthened in 1190, but was again demolished in 1233. Henry VII granted the castle to Rhys ab Thomas, to whose assistance that monarch had been materially indebted for his success in obtaining the crown of England. On the

attainder of his grandson, the castle and estates again reverted to the Crown. Leland says that it was "meately wel kept up", and "veri fair and doble waullid".

The following communication was then made, and the photograph referred to was exhibited. It was examined with much interest.

SUNRISE AT STONEHENGE ON THE LONGEST DAY.

BY MR. E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A.

For many years an old tradition has been repeated from speaker to speaker. This is, that, on the morning of the longest day, the first beam of the rising sun, as the luminary of day rises above the low hills which bound the eastern horizon, falls in a direct and exact line above the curious stone known as the "Friar's Heel" on to the altar-stone of Stonehenge. The Friar's Heel, it will be remembered, is an outlying stone, at some distance from the monument. For years, an increasing number of observers has assembled within the circle of weird stones, at sunrise, to witness the phenomenon. This year, an enormous concourse of people, but little short of three thousand, were present, they having partially slept at Amesbury or some of the adjacent villages, or spent the night in journeying from Salisbury. To record the result with some sort of scientific accuracy, it occurred to the Rev. J. M. Bacon, who was one of the party, to obtain the assistance of a professional photographer, and accordingly he was accompanied by Mr. T. B. Howe of Newbury.

A clear night gave good promise of a fine sunrise, and the perseverance of the night-watchers was amply rewarded. Long before sunrise, the party was astir, and the camera of the photographer was duly placed in position exactly on the altar-stone in an exact line with the top of the gnomon of the Friar's Heel. A light cloud appeared in an otherwise cloudless sky just before sunrise, but this helped rather than diminished the result. Everything being ready, the rising of the sun, due at 3.44, was watched for with great expectation. It came, and quick as thought the photograph was taken to record the result. A copy of this is now before us. It will be noted that the sun rises exactly over the ancient gnomon, and exactly central, so far as appearance goes, with the central opening. The truth of the old tradition is thus verified beyond all question, and the orientation of this remarkable monument is now made clear.

It cannot, of course, be asserted that the result is altogether final, for many things have to be taken into consideration; such as inquiry as to the altar-stone being of its exact height; whether the "Friar's Heel" is quite in its exact position. The height of the distant hills, too, have to be taken into account. These circumstances, and it may



STONEHENGE. Sunrise on the Longest Day.

.. From a Woodcut kindly lent to the Association by the Proprietors of the "Leisure Hour."

be some others, require due consideration, and it is to these, probably, that we owe what we should hardly expect to find, namely, an exact orientation. Had the fabric been so oriented at the remote period of its erection—who can say at how remote a period this was?—we should hardly expect to find the sun now in the same place as it was in the far away past. Still, the sun has itself recorded in the photograph before us how distinctly the evidences remain of the astronomical knowledge of the unknown builders, and of their intention to erect it in relation to the rising sun. In relation to the age of the erection of this monument of a remote past, it at present cannot throw much light. We see before us monoliths of enormous size and weight, on which are roughly cut tenons and mortises for support. These have never been cut by iron tools. We may safely conclude, therefore, that its date is anterior to the age of Iron. The cuttings are more correctly described as hackings, since they are so roughly executed. They were probably executed with brouze implements, but the evidences are not sufficient to exclude their having been worked by stone tools.

In the discussion which ensued, Messrs. Blashill and Grover referred to the remarkable interest which was now being taken at Salisbury and other places to test the accuracy of the old tradition, and the numbers of people who assemble at sunrise on the longest day at Stonehenge is yearly on the increase. Mr. Grover referred to the discovery of flint implements near the monument, which spoke of its remote antiquity, while the existence of many tumuli there seemed to attest the sacred character of the locality. The name, the “Friar’s Heel”, is probably a corruption of some designation of antiquity.

Mr. Macmichael exhibited a fine series of articles of bronze, or Roman date, which he has recently collected from excavations in London and Southwark, and upon which he made some observations.

Mr. Thomas Blashill exhibited three Roman coins which have been found within the last few days at Newington, Surrey. They are of the Constantine family.

Mr. Earle Way described two curious hollow flints, of natural form, known as “Hag-Stones”. He exhibited also a fine second brass of Claudius, Ceres type, found at Southwark.

A paper was then read, on a “Magic Roll in the British Museum”, by the Chairman. This paper, it is hoped, will be published in the *Journal*.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Blashill described a Romanesque pillar which exists in a church at Bologna, which is stated to be the exact height of Our Lord’s Cross. The Rev. W. S. Lach-

Szyrna referred to some of the singular customs which had been mentioned in course of the lecture as being still believed in in many parts of our own country.

A paper was then read by the Rev. J. Cave-Browne on the Abbots of Boxley, which is printed on pp. 313-22.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND DECEMBER 1891.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., V.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were elected :—

His Grace the Archbishop of York, Bishopsthorpe, York.

P. P. Palfrey, Esq., Gloucester Road, Regent's Park.

E. J. Renaud, Esq., High House, Old Swinford.

Mr. C. H. Compton was elected a Vice-President.

The following Hon. Correspondents were appointed :—

Rev. William Slater Sykes, Sheffield.

J. Curtis, Esq., Canterbury.

A. E. Clarke, Esq., Wisbech.

J. Robertson, Esq., Goslings' Bank, Fleet Street.

Stewart F. Wells, Esq., Milestone House, Denmark Hill.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Royal Archaeological Institute, for "Journal," vol. for 1891.

To the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, for "Archæologia Æliana," vol. xv, pt. 2.

To the Cambrian Archaeological Society, for "Journal" for 1891.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., exhibited a specimen of binding in the sixteenth century, ornamented with blind tooling and the names IHESUS—MARIA. The book is the *Summula Raymundi*, printed by Johannes Knoblauch, in 1518.

Mr. C. H. Compton, V.P., announced that the destruction of the old Elizabethan mansion at Bourne, Lincolnshire, was impending, for the purposes of making a railway, and hoped that steps might be taken to save it if possible.

Mr. Birch read a paper on the antiquities of the "Parish of Adel, Yorkshire", by J. T. Irvine, Esq., which was illustrated with some careful drawings by the author. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. A. G. Langdon exhibited two green stone or jade antiquities from New Zealand, the one a *tiki* or seated effigy, the other a hatchet or *meri*.

Mr. Brock read

NOTE ON A PREHISTORIC BRONZE FOUNDRY AT ST. COLUMB PORTH.

BY W. F. REID, ESQ., C.E.

In the neighbourhood of the village of St. Columb Porth near Newquay, Cornwall, prehistoric remains have from time to time been found, especially those of the bronze age. Throughout the whole of Cornwall, bronze implements have been met with, either in barrows or in stream tin-works, and sometimes, although but rarely, in old mine workings. In the locality named, the examination of some barrows brought some skeletons to light which were associated with numerous articles of bronze. The source of this metal has hitherto been problematical, although both copper and tin are known to exist in the immediate vicinity. That tin ore was mined at a very early stage of civilisation in this country is proved by the primitive tools sometimes found in the old workings. Picks made of stags' horns, and even of wood, were at one time used in extracting the ore; and the appliances for its reduction were doubtless of an equally primitive character. As regards copper, there appear to be few, if any, traces of this metal having been worked at an early date; and the discovery of copper ores in Cornwall is generally regarded as a comparatively recent one. The observation recorded in the present note shows, however, that the reduction of such ores took place at a very early epoch, and with very simple appliances. The site where the remains are found is a small promontory or headland, the neck of which is traversed by three distinct earthworks, which appear to have been erected at different periods. Flint flakes are extremely numerous; and, as flint is not a local mineral, the raw material for these has no doubt been brought from some distance. At one spot, facing the sea, slags or scorix are interspersed among the fragments of flint and quartz, and the appearance of the ground at one spot showed that it had been subjected to the action of fire. On making further investigations, a cavity was found, excavated in the killas or clay-slate which here forms the local rock. The cavity was ovoid in shape, ten inches deep and eight inches wide. The solid rock formed the bottom; but the sides were plastered with a local clay derived from the decomposed killas. This clay, which had been hardened by the action of fire, bore numerous finger-marks, and had evidently been pressed by hand against the sides of the cavity. The size of the finger-marks was rather below the average. At the bottom of the cavity was a layer of charcoal, chiefly derived from the oak; this was about one inch thick. The remainder of the hole was filled with earth containing fragments of slag and broken flint flakes, and the

surface was level with the surrounding ground. In order to ascertain with certainty from what metallurgical operations the slags were derived, a number of the latter were subjected to a careful mechanical and chemical examination. The colour showed in some cases that copper was present, and, on crushing some of the slags, globular particles of metal were separated. A number of these were chemically examined, and all were found to contain both copper and tin. All the slags which contained copper were also found to contain tin, and in no case was copper alone found in either metal or slag. From the nature of the slags and particles of gangue contained in them, they were evidently produced during the reduction of ores, and not from the fusing or melting of the bronze itself. There are certain layers of killas in this neighbourhood which contain sufficient carbonate of lime to act as a flux; and, as calcareous rocks are very scarce in the district, the presence of this material may have been the reason of the selection of this site for metallurgical operations. Pieces of coarse pottery containing very numerous particles of crushed quartz were found in the immediate vicinity; but there was no evidence that they had formed parts of crucibles. A very careful examination failed to discover any traces of the means which had been adopted to produce the blast which must have been necessary to ensure the high temperature which had here been obtained. At one side of the cavity, however, the ground appeared to have been disturbed in a way that suggested the possibility of a pipe having been carried down obliquely to the bottom of the furnace. Such a pipe might have been of wood, this being protected from the heat by the intervening ground and the lining of clay.

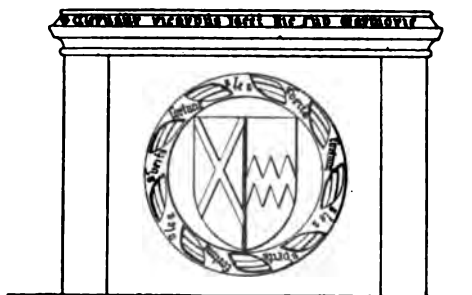
The general conclusions drawn from the observations made were: 1. That ores of copper and tin were here either reduced simultaneously, or one of these metals was fused with the ore of the other. 2. That at the time this was done flint-flakes were still in use.

As bearing on the question of the conditions which prevailed at the time flint-flakes were used in this district, it may be of interest to mention that charred bulbs of the vernal squill (*scilla verna*) were found associated with flint-flakes at a spot about ten miles from St. Columb. This plant is still of frequent occurrence here, and its bulbs may possibly have been used for food by those who fashioned the flint-flakes.

Mr. J. H. Macmichael read a paper on "Marriage Customs in Celtic Britain", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

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12 СРОНИ СНАЯН



ВѢСЪ СЛО

MEASURED AND DRAWN BY
H.D. PRITCHETT, MARCH 1889.

FOR DESCRIPTION SEE PAPER ON
CROFT CHURCH BY J.P. PRITCHETT
PAGE 249 OF JOURNAL FOR 1888

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Tomb of Richard Clairvaux (obit 1490) in St. Peter's Church, Croft, Yorkshire.—This church was visited by members who attended the Darlington Congress in 1886, and a full description of it will be found in the *Journal* for 1888 (vol. xlix, Part 3; see p. 249 for description of tomb), by Mr. J. P. Pritchett of Darlington, Member of Council for Yorkshire. We now complete the illustrations by engraving a measured drawing of the tomb by Mr. H. D. Pritchett.

Early Inscribed Stones.—It is announced in *The Athenæum* that the Dean of St. David's has, during the last month, found within the precincts of the Cathedral a sepulchral slab of very great interest, bearing a beautiful cross ornamented with interlaced work, and the following inscription in minuscules :

“+ Pontificis abraham . filii . hic hed & isac . quiescunt.”

(The two sons of Bishop Abraham, Hed and Isac,
lie here peacefully.)

Bishop Abraham was killed by the Danes in their last descent upon St. David's in A.D. 1078, and he was succeeded by Sulgen. This memorial inscription is thus one of considerable historical value. It may be a hexameter verse. An illustrated article upon it, from the pen of Prof. I. O. Westwood, will appear in the January Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

The early Christian inscribed stone at Southill, in Cornwall, the discovery of which by Mr. S. J. Wills has been announced, has recently been examined by the Rev. W. Jago, and in removing the earth which concealed the lower part he was fortunate enough to expose to view the Chi-Rho monogram, the existence of which was not previously known. Mr. Jago reads the inscription, CUM REGNI FILI MAUCI.

Antiquities of Norfolk.—Mr. Robert Fitch, F.S.A., F.G.S., etc., of Norwich, has notified his intention of giving the whole of his valuable collections to the Museum, and we understand that the Castle Museum Committee has already made arrangements for building a suitable room to receive them. The collections, which have been inspected by the Association during the Congresses at Norwich, include not only many important and unique specimens of great local interest in the various departments of archæology and geology, but many articles of *vertu*, besides artistic and literary productions and MSS., which the inhabitants of Norwich will be glad to possess.

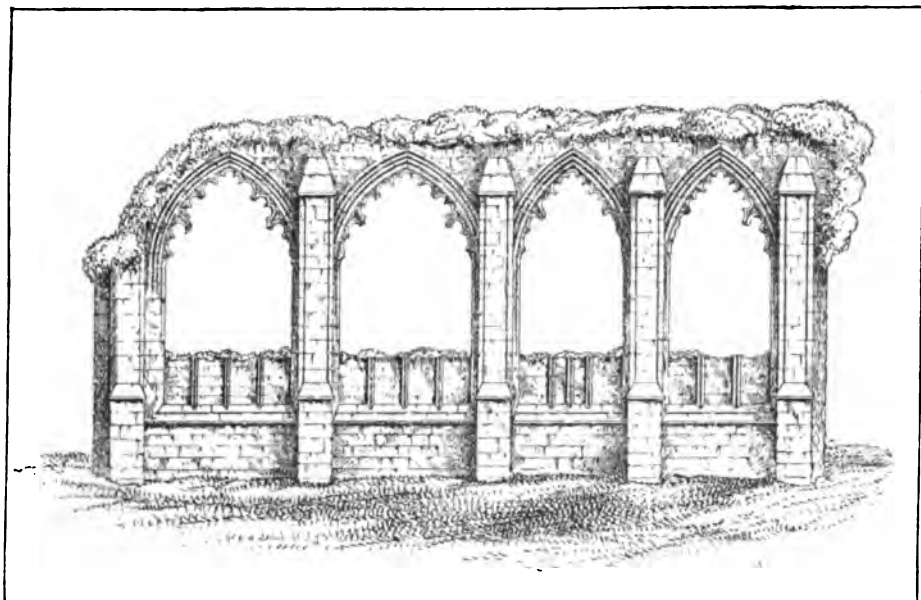
Dunfermline Abbey.—Some members of the Association who were present at the excursion to Dunfermline during the Congress at Glasgow in 1888 may remember that, after one of the meetings at the Town Hall, the late Dr. Henry Douglas, at that time one of the oldest inhabitants of the town, produced for their inspection two old coloured engravings of the ruins of the choir of the Abbey Church, as they appeared before their final demolition in 1818, to make room for the present central tower and the unsightly erection at the east end of the church, built at considerable expense to serve as the parish church. Since the death of Dr. Douglas, these engravings have come into the possession of one of our Associates (Mr. J. T. Mould): he has had reduced engravings made for insertion in the *Journal*, hoping that they may convey to those who have seen the Abbey in its present condition some idea of what it must have been in its pristine state, and at the same time form an interesting addition to the report of the Proceedings of the Glasgow Congress, published in the *Journal* for 1889.

Exhibition of Saddlery.—The Saddlers' Company of London are arranging to hold, in May or June this year, an Exhibition of Saddlery and Horse-furniture, which will include objects of that description of general and historic interest, the main object of the exhibition being to illustrate the historic development of the saddler's art.

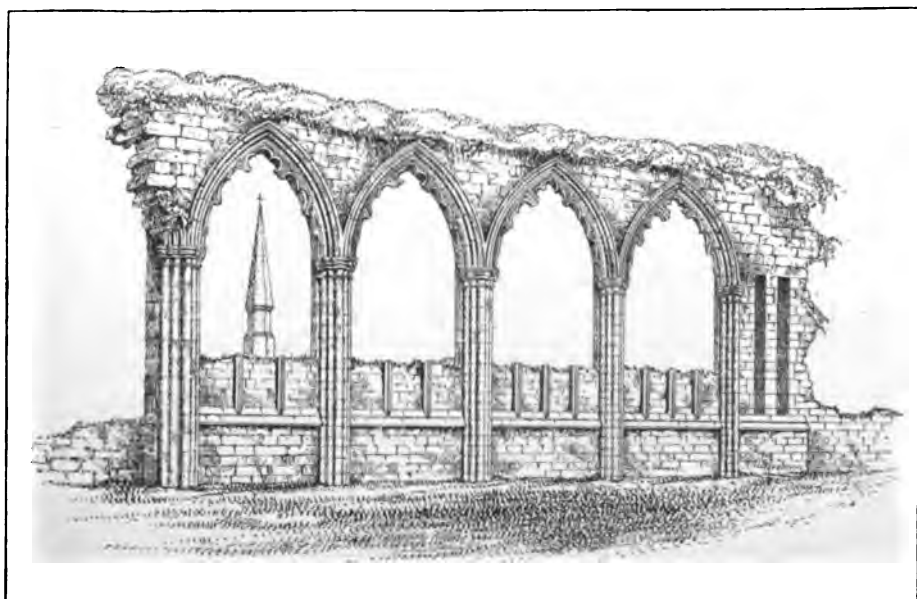
Members of this Association who are in possession of any objects of this kind—such as saddles, bits, spurs, stirrups, shoes, and harness of an interesting character, which they would be willing to exhibit—are requested to put themselves in communication with Mr. John W. Sherwell, Saddlers' Hall, Cheapside.

Among new works on antiquarian subjects published by Mr. Elliot Stock may be mentioned an elegant quarto on *Rockingham Castle and the Watsons*, by C. Wise, nicely illustrated with plans, drawings, and portraits, and having a useful series of pedigrees of the families of Watson, Montagu, Digby, Manners, Wentworth, Monson, and Sondes. The description of the works executed for the maintenance and repair of the Castle is curious, and might be supplemented by some account of, and extracts from, those Rolls which are extant.

King Charles the Second and the Cogans of Coaxdon Manor, a missing chapter in the Boscobel Tracts, by a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, will interest not only Worcester antiquaries, but lovers of the political history of the seventeenth century. The drawings give



DUNFERMLINE ABBEY. Portion of the ruins of the Choir, now removed. *Exterior.*



DUNFERMLINE ABBEY. Portion of the ruins of the Choir, now removed. *Interior.*

a faithful representation of the places dealt with in the course of the narrative.

The History of Nottinghamshire, by Cornelius Brown, forms the seventh volume of the New Series of County Histories in octavo, of which we have in former volumes given a favourable notice. This volume is quite equal to those which have preceded it. It does not profess to be exhaustive, but, in the modest compass of its extent, it presents a thoroughly honest and readable account of all the prominent phases of Nottinghamshire history. The connection of the neighbouring county of Derby with Nottinghamshire, which is shown in *Domesday Book*, might have been set forth with advantage. The origin of the name of the county, as spelt in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and some short biographical notices of the Sheriffs, Members of Parliament, and Lords Lieutenant, might have been added; but perhaps these matters would have swollen the book beyond the dimensions allotted to it. One of the most interesting passages is that dealing with the original course of the river Trent, which flowed direct from Newark into the Wash by way of Lincoln.

The Antiquities of the Exchequer, by Mr. Hubert Hall, with a short preface by Sir John Lubbock, is an attractive volume explanatory of the history and principles of the King's Exchequer, which to most of us are exceedingly intricate and difficult to understand. Mr. Hall's work will be acceptable to many persons of general reading, and not only to those whose lot is cast in the way of consulting ancient records and historical accounts. The ancient treasury of the Kings of England has always been a fascinating subject; and the intricate character of the business carried on in connection with it has been dealt with very successfully by Mr. Hall, whose chapters on the "Chess-Game", as he calls the procedure at the Exchequer Table, and on the "making of the Budget", are highly entertaining. His description of the golden seal of Francis I of France is incomplete without some reference to the corresponding seal, or Henry VIII's counterpart, which contains the line,

"Ordine junguntur et perstant federe cuncta".

To which the legend on Francis's seal is a reply,

"Plurima servantur foedere, cuncta fide."

These two verses, taken together, compose an elegant epigram couched in the form of an amœbœic, elegiac distich.

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